THE
POET OF THE EAST

THE LIFE AND WORK OF DR. SHEIKH SIR MUHAMMAD IQBAL, THE POET-PHILOSOPHER, WITH A CRITICAL SURVEY OF HIS PHILOSOPHY, POETICAL WORKS AND TEACHINGS

by

ABDULLA ANWAR BEG

M.A., M.O.L., LL.B.

WITH A FOREWORD BY

DR. R. A. NICHOLSON, OF CAMBRIDGE

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IQBAL

(THE POET OF THE EAST)

اے بسا شاعر کہ بعد از مرگ زاد

چشم خود بر بست و چشم ما کشاد

سرود رفته باز آید که ناید

نسیمے از حجاز آید که ناید

سر آمد روزگار این فقیرے

دگر دانائے راز آید که ناید

اقبال

The melody that has gone may, or may not, come :

A breeze from the Hejaz may, or may not, come.

This is the end of the days of this Faqir.

Another Wise One may, or may not, come.

—Iqbal

——"*Thy image on her wing*
Before my fancy's eye shall memory bring."

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IQBAL AND HIS TEACHINGS

PREFACE

ON April 21, 1938, passed away one of the most illustrious personalities of the Orient which had lightened the darkness of India—Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal, who occupied an eminent place among the thinkers of the contemporary world and was, perhaps, the greatest poet of his time.

His death cast a gloom all over the Muslim world. We wanted him to stay—Islam was passing through a critical stage in the nineteenth century and the crisis continued down to the Great War.... We were losing hold over circumstances and were running short of men:

> "Men who for truth and honour's sake stand fast and suffer long."

Islam lost in him a great son. Muslim India is all the poorer for his death.

During the last three decades, we have seen the world being hurriedly whirled through an endless series of changes that have produced a new orientation in world thought. The pace of change in Islamic lands has not been slow.

The present generation has seen the passing of so many kings, the tottering of so many states;

systems of government are failing one after another. Indifference towards religion and the high attributes of man, the social chaos, the acute struggle for domination are a constant menace to humanity and to its culture and civilization. The world seems to have lost its balance. Is stability possible? What is going to be the result of the forces now in operation? These are the questions that we face to-day, and the fundamental inquiries that have been agitating thc human mind since the days of Adam are no less puzzling: What is the *raison d'etre* of man? The object of life and an ideal society? The life and work of the Poet of the East answer these and other allied questions and to write the biography of such a great man is an attempt to answer them.

Success in doing so depends upon the faithful presentation of the poet's life to posterity. It is easy to imagine the poet as he is revealed in his poetry, but Iqbal was a great and elusive personality. It is because I desire to preserve the life history of one of the great contemporary figures from the ruthlessness of time that I endeavour to incorporate in this volume all the facts I have gathered from his personal friends, admirers, faithful servants and from the poet's own sayings. I have been particularly cautious against the inclusion of anything unwarranted and have avoided all kinds of irrelevant and digressive matter.

PREFACE

The story of Iqbal's life is inspiring, yet the study of his philosophy and poetic thought is all the more absorbing and has a great educative value. As the poet himself once remarked: "While writing my life, it would be of little use to mention as to when or where I graduated. The study of the great mental conflict that I had to pass through and the consequent growth of thought is more important." I have closely followed these words and hence, given ample attention and space to Iqbal's poetical works, philosophy, general teachings and personality.

For the facts of the poet's life I have consulted several books, literary magazines and newspapers. The information received from some of the poet's close observers has been of great value and their response has been liberal. I desire to convey my thanks to Mr. Joffre Fernandez for his assistance and I have also to acknowledge the valuable advice given to me by Mr. J. C. Roome.

LAHORE·
July, 1939.

A. ANWAR BEG.

FOREWORD

BY DR. R. A. NICHOLSON, M.A., LITT. D.
Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge.

WHEN Mr. A. Anwar Beg asked me to contribute a foreword to his forthcoming volume on the life and work of Iqbal, I felt that in view of my engagements it would be impossible for me to write anything new on the subject at present; but in order not to disappoint him entirely, I suggested that perhaps the following brief appreciation of the poet might serve the purpose well enough. Few are likely to have seen it before, as originally it formed part of an article on *Payám-i-Mashriq* published in a German Oriental Journal fifteen years ago.*

Amongst Indian Moslem poets of to-day Iqbal stands on a hill by himself. In him there are two voices of power. One speaks in Urdu and appeals to Indian patriotism, though Iqbal is not a nationalist in politics; the other, which uses the beautiful and melodious language of Persia, sings to a Moslem

**Islamica*, vol. I, pp 122—124

audience—and it is indeed a new and inspiring song, a fiery incantation scattering ashes and sparks and bidding fair to be " the trumpet of a prophecy ".

Born in the Punjab, Iqbal completed his education in England and Germany. East and West met; it would be too much to say that they were united. No one, however gifted, can hope to partake on equal terms and in full measure of two civilisations which have sprung from different roots. While Iqbal has been profoundly influenced by Western culture, his spirit remains essentially Oriental. He knows Goethe, Byron, and Shelley; he is as familiar with *Also sprach Zarathustra* and *L'évolution créatrice* as he is with the *Qur'án* and the *Mathnawí*. But with the Humanistic foundations of European culture he appears to be less intimately acquainted, and we feel that his criticism, though never superficial, is sometimes lacking in breadth.

He regards reality as a process of becoming, not as an eternal state. The *templa serena* of the Absolute find no place in his scheme of things: all is in flux. His universe is an association of individuals, headed by the most unique Individual, *i.e.*, God. Their life consists in the formation and cultivation of personality. The perfect man " not only absorbs the world of matter by mastering it; he absorbs God himself into his Ego by assimilating Divine attributes ". Hence the essence of life is Love, which in its highest form is " the creation of

desires and ideals, and the endeavour to realise them". Desires are good or bad according as they strengthen or weaken personality, and all values must be determined by this standard.

The affinities with Neitzsche and Bergson need not be emphasised. It is less clear, however, why Iqbal identifies his ideal society with Mohammad's conception of Islam, or why membership of that society should be a privilege reserved for Moslems. Here the religious enthusiast seems to have knocked out the philosopher—a result which is logically wrong but poetically right. Iqbal, the poet, has a proper contempt for intellectualism. He contrasts Ibn Síná with Jalál-ud-Dín Rúmí:—

> " This one plunged deep and to the Pearl attained;
> The other floating like a weed remained.
> Truth, flameless, is Philosophy, which turns
> To Poesy when from the heart it burns."

CAMBRIDGE·
April 29, 1939.

R. A. Nicholson.

INTRODUCTION

MR. ABDULLA ANWAR BEG has the inestimable advantage of not only having had unusual opportunities in Lahore of closely studying the life and work of Iqbal but also of having an intimate knowledge of the conditions which coloured Iqbal's thoughts. Mr. Anwar Beg is one of those for whom Iqbal may be said to have used his waking moments for rebuilding the structure of Muslim society. Mr. Anwar Beg's generation of Muslims in India knows the circumstances which led Iqbal to devote his life to the task of galvanising Muslim society. How far Iqbal succeeded in his mission may be seen, to some extent, from what Mr. Anwar Beg has to say of Iqbal's place among the poets of the East. Muslims of a generation or two ago in India would have, at least, counted Iqbal among the heretics, if they did not condemn him outright as an infidel. They did not spare the greatest Muslim of modern times, Sir Syed Ahmed, when he held up before them the advantages of Western education, and with a band of earnest workers launched his movement of modernisation among his co-religionists. Mr. Anwar

Beg has mentioned the Muslim poet, Hali, as one whose works influenced Iqbal's thoughts. Hali was one of the workers in the Muslim cause in India who rallied to support Sir Syed Ahmed's movement of modernisation. Hali was the first Muslim poet in India to rebel against the conventions of Urdu poetry, which then worshipped form to such an extent that the substance of poetry practically counted for nothing. Hali made Urdu poetry the mirror of Time and the vehicle of the aspirations of the people of India, especially the Muslims.

In this sense, Iqbal carried the torch which Hali had carried before him to lighten the path of Muslims in India. Naturally, Iqbal had the advantage of nearly half a century of the working of the leaven of modernisation in Muslim society. His world was more extensive than the world in which Hali lived. Hali may be said to have heard of the world outside his own by hearsay. Iqbal knew it by intimate experience.

Mr. Abdulla Anwar Beg has attempted to show how the thought of the West and its social and religious values affected Iqbal. There will be considerable difference of opinion in regard to the measure of the influence which Iqbal's excursions into the realm of Western philosophy exerted over his work as a " poet of the East ". There is evidence in abundance in his works that he did not cast aside

as worthless the knowledge he had gained as a student in Europe.

There is a silent struggle clearly visible in all that he wrote to assimilate the thought of the West, and it is only when he seeks to make modern thought run parallel to the traditional thought of Islam that there is any conflict in the mind of the poet. Old loyalties then assert themselves, and we find Iqbal raising aloft the banner of Islam against some phases of modern thought.

We find him reminding the world of Islam that change is the key-note of life and that to remain static is to court spiritual death. Yet he is unwilling to admit the possibility of change in the interpretation of the doctrines of Islam. He is an iconoclast in demolishing schools of thought in Islam which have followed too slavishly schools of thought in ancient Greece or the mysticism of ancient Iran, and he subscribes to the early teachings of Islam in letter and spirit. To many superficial observers, Iqbal's exhortation to live dangerously, which, we may take it, applies as much to spiritual life as to the work-a-day life, coupled with his endorsement of the doctrine of the safety of old moorings may seem contradictory, but there is no such contradiction in reality. Iqbal did not believe that the essential doctrines of Islam were opposed to progress. Indeed, he believed them to be dynamic in force when rightly understood, and he had the

early history of Islam to support his point of view.

In Iqbal's works we see the reactions of the mingling of the currents of thought of the East and the West. For the first time, we see in them the results of a conscious effort on the part of a serious Eastern thinker to analyse the two systems and also to synthesize them.

There are phases of Western life which repel Iqbal, but there are also phases of life in the East which cause him agony of mind. Because the poet's mind mirrored these apparently irreconcilable aspects of life and their interplay, Iqbal's poems have a value which few works of modern Eastern poets possess. Mr. Anwar Beg lays stress upon Iqbal's reactions to Western thought as a Muslim, and by reason of his intimate knowledge of Muslim history and religious tradition, Mr. Anwar Beg reveals recesses in the poet's mind which otherwise would be inaccessible to the ordinary observer.

What invests Iqbal's work as a poet with interest for those outside the Muslim fold is its teeming catholicity. This one may expect from a poet whose mind was steeped in Islamic lore with its strident note of the brotherhood of man, but in Iqbal's case his vehement repudiation of the Western doctrine of nationalism was not the outcome of blind obedience to the principle of brotherhood in Islam.

Early in his life, Iqbal sounded a resonant note of patriotism in his poems, as the West understands

it – both as a Muslim and an Indian, but later on one finds him in revolt against the Western conception of nationalism. The process of transition from pride in the greatness of India, whose ramparts of the Himalayas the heavens stoop to kiss, as Iqbal said, to a realisation of the solidarity of the human race appears to have been gradual, but it was complete, and as Iqbal attributed it to the influence of Islam's doctrine of the brotherhood of man, his exploration of the mainsprings of patriotism and nationalism strengthened his faith in Islam as a force for the regeneration of the world.

Iqbal's poems, reflecting as they do his intellectual experiences, are unsurpassed by poems which came before them in the East. Iqbal himself, as Mr. Anwar Beg tells us, acknowledged the works of Jalal-ud-Din Rumi as his source of inspiration, but few poets in the East, embarked upon their intellectual adventure on so wide an expanse as Iqbal In the West, the poet Goethe and the philosopher Nietzsche seem to have covered such vast spaces in the realm of thought as did Iqbal, but few other poets in the East had these domains of thought accessible to them. In Iqbal's poems we see the poet questioning thinkers from Aristotle to those of his day, Bergson and McTaggart, and pronouncing judgment on the teachings of Karl Marx. We have the mystics of the East pass in review before us with the mystics of Islam, and the poet performing the

functions both of marshal and judge. Whether we agree with, or differ from, him we are constrained to admire his candour.

How the story of the poet's adventures in thought will influence life in the East, and especially in Muslim lands, who can say? There are, however, indications that the thoughts of his co-religionists in India are beginning to acquire the orientation he desired to give them. We find Muslims in India to-day less prone to take their misfortunes as due to an inexorable fate than they were before Iqbal reminded them of the dire consequences of their apathy in regard to their future.

Muslims in India are now testing the possibilities of a scheme for consolidating their position in India territorially which Iqbal advocated and which has now gained a considerable number of supporters among Muslims. The last vestiges of prejudice against Western Education have disappeared among the Muslims in India as a result largely of Iqbal's efforts to place the cause of education in its true perspective before his people. By revealing anew the secrets of the rise of Islam to power in the past, Iqbal has broadened the vision of Muslims generally, not only in India, but also in other parts of the world. It was to make his message of the regeneration of Muslims known beyond the confines of India that Iqbal chose Irani as the vehicle of his thoughts, employing Urdu only when he sought to address

directly Indians, and Indian Muslims particularly. For the same reason he adopted the classical style in Irani and eschewed both the abstruseness of the mystics and the striving after effect of the modernists.

Iqbal achieved his object. Few poets in the East in modern times have had such a large audience as had Iqbal. It is difficult to say how far Iqbal's message of the brotherhood of Muslims has inspired the Arab movement of to-day for unity, but that Iqbal's message has penetrated the deserts of Arabia and reverberated in Yunnan and Morocco, there can be no doubt. The participation recently of representatives of Indian Muslims in the Palestine Conference in London, with the consent of the Arabs, clearly proves this. There is new life pulsating in the world of Islam.

If Iqbal had a message for Muslims as Muslims, he was by no means parochial. He had also a message for humanity, and, in giving it wing, he has produced a synthesis of Eastern and Western thought which is unique. Mr. Anwar Beg has pointed out the currents of thought which have influenced Iqbal's philosophy, and, whether we agree or not with Mr. Anwar Beg's conclusions, this is a feature of his monograph which will make it of great value to those who desire to get a clear conception of Iqbal's outlook on life.

Not all that Iqbal wrote is available to those in

the West. Some of his works have been translated into English and German, but in order to enter into his thoughts, and particularly to visualise the interplay of the East and the West in the warp and woof of his mind it is necessary to read his works, preferably in their chronological order. It is then that one sees what distinguishes this poet of the East, who was no stranger to the West, from other poets. There is a revelation of the timbre of the inner voice of Iqbal in the last verses he wrote before meeting "Death with a smile on his face."

Iqbal saw the pervading chaos of to-day, but his was no threnody of despair even when his thoughts were tinged with melancholy when surveying the crumbling minarets of Islam. Iqbal did not believe in the omnipotency of false gods. He tells the Brahman—and this throws a flood on what may be called the three-phase mind of the poet that the trouble with him is that the gods in his Pantheon have grown old. Here, he was addressing the Brahman as a Brahman, and declaring his faith in the power of man to mould his destiny.

How far the stream of Iqbal's thought was influenced by the current of Hindu thought, as it was by the currents of Islamic and Western thoughts, is difficult to say, but the fearlessness with which he plunged into unfathomable depths and the consistency with which he upheld the dictates of reason seem to suggest that the force of genera-

tions of Hindu thought which formed the warp of his mind, even if covered with Islamic thought, was not extinct.

However, for Iqbal, even if the world was chaotic, chaos was not the norm of life, uncontrollable and inexorable, and man remained the master of his fate. Mr. Anwar Beg has dealt with Iqbal's doctrine of the Self, and, in doing so, he has shown how Iqbal arrived at the conclusions he did after closely assimilating what Muslim thinkers have said on the subject, and, above all, what the Holy Quran warrants a Muslim to say.

While there is evidence in the profusion of allusions in Iqbal's poems, which Mr. Anwar Beg has taken great pains to elucidate, of the vast storehouse of knowledge from which he drew his material to mould his thought, it is noticeable that the Holy Quran is for Iqbal the touchstone of principles governing life, and one is often taken by surprise by the manner in which the poet uses verses in the sacred book to illustrate some abstruse philosophical issue. Only those who are qualified by a close study of the Quran can say how far Iqbal maintained inviolate the spirit of the teachings of the Quran, but there can be no question that he has widened the horizon of Islamic thought and revealed unsuspected resiliency in it to the pressure of the changes through which the world is passing to-day. Iqbal has demolished once for all the bizarre structure which the hair-

splitting interpreters of the teachings of Islam and the involved system of thought of some of the Sufis erected for Islam. He has attempted to restore to Islam the grandeur of its simplicity. Time alone will show if he has succeeded, but the irresistible appeal of the cry from his heart for directness in the interpretation of the teachings of Islam is already producing changes in Muslim outlook which promise to rationalise life in Islamic countries.

For those in India who, like the present writer, knew Iqbal, it is gratifying to find evidence in Mr. Anwar Beg's monograph of the intensity of the desire to perpetuate the memory of the poet, who, as he preached, lived dangerously, and shunned the shadow to gain the substance of life. The way in which Iqbal lived his life of sacrifice at the altar of his ideals, spurning much that the world covets, in order to devote himself single-mindedly to the fulfilment of his mission, is itself a source of inspiration to those who knew him.

In his biography of the poet, Mr Anwar Beg has conveyed some impression of the way in which Iqbal prepared himself for the task he had set himself and how he spent his days unceasingly in search of the solution of the riddle of life. The multitude did not understand his other-worldliness which had neither the asceticism nor the demonstrativeness usually associated with it in India. His detachment from the common stream of life was a

puzzle to many of those around him, but still he was no hermit and by no means an armchair critic of life. Unlike many poets before him, he received the homage of king and peasant to his genius in his lifetime, and his fellow-citizens in Lahore could not have given a more convincing proof of the esteem in which he was held by them than by selecting for Iqbal's last resting place a site by the steps of the great mosque of the city, which is a symbol of Muslim aspirations in India.



LAHORE,
July 17, 1939.

PART I

LIFE OF IQBAL

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

THE POET OF THE EAST

THE ocean of time is as often turbulent and rough as it is calm and tranquil. Sailors have sometime to seek their way under cover of darkness. It is cloudy and stormy, many a time—but, it is hardly conceivable and possible that things should remain so. The lonesome vessels are guided by the timely appearance of stars. Similarly, the nations of the world have to pass through dark periods of life and find it hard to keep on the right path and it is not unoften that they lose it. This is just like the dark hours in the life of an individual. In such circumstances, one is not left to himself for long, nor is a nation in its moments of darkness. God Almighty sends forth on the scene men of deep vision and extraordinary personality—scintillating souls like stars:

"To light them on their dim and perilous way."

The late Dr. Sheikh Sir Muhammad Iqbal, the philosopher-poet of the East and one of the most

distinguished thinkers of the twentieth century, appeared like a fiery star on the horizon of the East, foretelling the approach of the rosy dawn over Asia. He came to guide the benighted nations of the Orient on life's rough way at the right time, and his advent has proved that the darkest hour is just before the dawn.

The world knows through the books of ancient history, literature and thought that the Brahmans, the religious priests of India, pass their old age in the picturesque valleys of the Himalayas. Some people have imagined them to be sitting in deep meditation on the Himalayan peaks, covered with snow. Apart from the legendary aspect of the Pandit's life as a recluse in the mountains, it is not a fable that the ancient men of learning in India have mostly been Pandits and their contribution to the abstract thought and folklore of India is in no way mean.

As a philosopher, Iqbal favourably compares with the calm thinkers of the Himalayas and as a poet he has a Kashmiri's proverbial æsthetic sense. Iqbal's intellect had the hereditary brilliancy of a Pandit—مری کف خاک برہمن زاد, but, the marvellous development of his mind, breadth of vision and purity of thought were the characteristics of a world-conquering Muslim who was at the same time a philosopher in the line of Farabi, Avicenna, and Ghazali and a poet in the rank of Saadi and

Hafiz. Islam and its literature and thought made him what he was and in the personality of an individual—Iqbal, the world has seen the wonderful possibilities of the human soul in powers of expression and growth.

A KASHMIR FAMILY

IQBAL was born at Sialkot on the 22nd February, 1873 (Zilhijja 24, 1289 A.H.). Sialkot is an industrial city in the Punjab near the Chenab, about thirty miles below the Himalayas. The City is said to have been originally founded by Raja Salbahan, an historical figure of which authenticated history affords little description. The City is an important station on the trade route between Kashmir and the Punjab. It has a pleasant climate all the year round.

His father, Sheikh Nur Muhammad, was a man of a Sufistic trend of thought and was descended from an ancient Kashmir family, a branch of which is still extant in Kashmir. Early in the eighteenth century, one of Iqbal's ancestors embraced Islam through devotion to a holy man, for whom the family entertains feelings of reverence upto this day. The ancestral heritage of Iqbal consisted of a keen intellect and a strong religious sense. Of his own ancestry the poet speaks:

میر و مرزا به سیاست دل و دین باخته اند
جز برهمن پسرے محرم اسرار کجا ست؟

Mir and Mirza have lost their heart and religion in politics,
Except the Brahman boy, who is conversant with the secrets?

مرا بنگر کـــه در هندوستاں دیگر نمے بینی
برهمن زادهٔ رمز آشنائے روم و تبریز است

See me, for you will not see again in India,
A Brahman boy conversant with the secrets of Roum and Tabriz (Jalal and Shams)

Sheikh Nur Muhammad had six children: two sons, Ata Muhammad and Muhammad Iqbal and four daughters. He was a pious Muslim, led a simple life, earned an honest living and strictly followed the dictates of Shari'at.

Once upon a time, a certain beggar visited Iqbal's house and insistently demanded alms. The young man lost his temper and beat him. His 'product of beggary' fell on the ground. When his father saw this, he felt aggrieved. Tears rushed to his eyes and he said:

"When the people of the Holy Prophet shall gather on the day of the Resurrection—the fighters for the name of God, those who learn the Quran by heart, the martyrs, the lovers, the pious and the sinful shall all be in one place and the Holy Prophet shall inquire from me:—

حـــق جوانے مسلمے بـا تو سپرد
کـــو نصیبے از دبستانم نبرد
از تو این یک کار آسان هم نه شد
یعنی آن انبار گل آدم نه شد

'God put in thy charge a Muslim youth,
Who has derived no benefit from my school;
Thou couldst not even perform so easy a task—
That heap of dust could not be turned into 'Adam!' "

What shall be my answer ?" and added:

اندکے اندیشں و یاد آر اے پسر
اجتماع امت خیرالبشر
باز این ریش سفید من نگر
لرزۂ اُمید و بیم من نگر
بر پدر این جور نا زیبا مکن
پیش مولا بندہ را رسوا مکن

'Think a little and remember O son!
The gathering of the Prophet's people
And then look at my white beard:
Notice my humility in hope and fear,
Do not suffer such a hideous cruelty to thy father,
Do not disgrace the servant before his master."

The incident speaks of his father's piety, respect for the Prophet and fear of God.

On the occasion of Iqbal's birth, his father saw in an auspicious dream that a beautiful dove was soaring round in the sky and dropped into his lap. The father maintained that it was a happy omen and considered that his son would rise to be a great man and would devote himself to the service of Islam. So he gave up his post in a Government office and opened a milliner's shop, so that he could earn his livelihood by hard work. He believed that he could not attain this object where he was, as he was exposed to the temptation of bribes. Equally pious was his mother, a lady of great virtues. She

determined to purchase nothing beyond what her husband's small salary would allow. The consideration throughout was that the child should not be provided with food obtained unlawfully, lest anything should pollute the child's mind. It may well be imagined that the precautions taken by the parents should have gone a long way to guide the child to such great heights as he attained.

While naming their child, the parents of Iqbal hardly knew that their son would become so famous one day. The name may not matter in certain cases, but it certainly did matter in the case of Iqbal. The very word 'Iqbal' suggests a greatness and has a peculiar halo of majesty which Iqbal enjoyed throughout his life. He adorned the name he bore.

CHILDHOOD AND EARLY EDUCATION

ACCORDING as is the custom in Muslim countries, Iqbal was first sent to a Maktab, and sometime after, entered a primary school. He passed his Primary examination, and secured a scholarship. This was the first feather in his cap and he gained yet another when he obtained a scholarship in the Middle school examination. He was only ten or twelve years old when one day he arrived at school late. The teacher asked him "Why are you late, my boy?" The young Iqbal answered,

"Iqbal (Glory) comes late." The teacher was struck by his retort, in view of the small age of the boy. As a boy Iqbal enjoyed robust health and looked as if he would grow to be a wrestler one day. He was intelligent indeed, but he paid little heed to his books. His fellow-students were often surprised to see him top the list. He passed the Matriculation examination creditably. Fortune again favoured him with a scholarship. Thus he was enabled to continue his studies further in college.

Iqbal joined the Scotch Mission College at Sialkot, as a "fresher." It was here that he made the acquaintance of the well-known Maulana Mir Hasan, who was a profound Arabic scholar of his time, which afterwards ripened into deep mutual regard between the master and his pupil. The influence of Maulana Mir Hasan was responsible for Iqbal's later devotion to Islamic culture and ardent appreciation for the literature of Islam. The Maulana did all he could for the development of his pupil's mind and provided a really congenial atmosphere for self-expression. Iqbal was attracted by the Maulana's erudition and great talents. The benefits of such a scholarly company to Iqbal were manifold. He secured a serious introduction to the Persian literature of which he made ample use as a Poet. The pupil refers to his esteemed teacher in *Iltija-i-Musafir*:—

وہ شمع بارگہ خاندان مرتضوی
رھیگا مثل حرم جس کا آستان مجھہ کو

نفس سے جس کے کلی میری آرزو کی کھلی
بنایا جس کی مروت نے نکتہ داں مجھہ کو

That candle of the audience hall of the House of Murtaza (Ali),
Whose threshold shall ever be like the Kaaba to me,
Through whose breath, the bud of my wish has blossomed;
And whose generosity has made me a Wise One.

When Iqbal was a student, there used to be held a symposium on a small scale at Sialkot. Soon the people came to know that he had a taste for poetry. He was, therefore, occassionally asked to recite his verses. This was perhaps the beginning of his poetical practice. Those were the days, when Urdu was not much in vogue in the Punjab. Yet in every city and town a taste for poetry was in its primary stage of evolution.

At this time, nobody knew that Iqbal, who had a small beginning, would one day reach the heights of fame which were not even dreamed of by any Indian before, and hardly could anybody imagine that this boy of solitary habits had such wonderful intellectual gifts as he had.

A COLLEGE STUDENT AT LAHORE

IQBAL came to Lahore to join the Government

College for his B.A., having passed his F.A. examination at the Scotch Mission College, Sialkot. He had a natural taste for philosophy and took it as one of his subjects of study. He worked hard as an under-graduate and passed the B.A. examination in 1897 with distinction, being awarded two gold medals and a scholarship for efficiency in English and Arabic. In those days the well-known Mr. (afterward Sir) T. W. Arnold, who had been working in the Aligarh College, joined the staff of the Government College as a professor. He was an Arabic scholar and the author of a widely read book *Preaching of Islam.* Muslims had great regard for him on account of his interest in Islamic lore. He was renowned for his vast study in philosophy and this was responsible for Iqbal's attachment to him. Arnold appreciated his pupil's peculiar mental aptitude and sharp intelligence as a student of philosophy. Referring to Iqbal's philosophic trend of mind and taste for research, he once remarked that he really made his master wiser. In such favourable circumstances, Iqbal took his M.A. degree in Philosophy in 1899 and was awarded a medal for distinction. The relation between Iqbal and Arnold soon developed into a close friendship.

In his early days at the Government College, a Maulvi Sahib whose high learning and personality had made a great impression upon Iqbal's mind, made a statement which was untrue. This

unhappy incident disturbed the peace of Iqbal's mind and the disturbance continued for three or four days. He could not understand how it could be possible that a Maulvi of so high attainments could indulge in a misstatement. As a result, Iqbal could not concentrate his attention on the lecture he was attending. He was uneasy. After many days, Mr. Arnold asked Iqbal the reason for his uneasiness: "You seem to be absent-minded; why don't you attend to the lecture?" Iqbal stated the whole incident. "You will come across many such things," remarked Arnold.

Sir Thomas Arnold was a man of unusual ability. He wielded a forceful pen and was perfectly conversant with the modern methods of literary research. He resolved to train Iqbal and to form his taste after his own.

While he was a professor at Aligarh, he exercised an enormous influence on Shibli, and his help in the latter's development of literary taste was considerable.

The literary friendship between Arnold and Iqbal deeply affected the future career of the latter and when Arnold went to England, Iqbal soon followed him. The relation between the two was all the more strengthened and lasted till the death of Arnold. It was a real pleasure to Arnold that his efforts had borne fruit and his pupil was the cause of his fame in the literary world.

Iqbal bitterly felt the loss of Arnold's companionship, when the latter left India. He writes says in *Nala-i-Firaq*:

دره میرے دل کا خورشید آشنا ہونے کو تھا
آئنہ ٹوٹا ہوا عالم نما ہونے کو تھا
نخل میری آرزوؤں کا ہرا ہونے کو تھا
آہ! کیا جانے کوئی میں کیا سے کیا ہونے کو تھا
ابر رحمت دامن از گلزار من بر چید و رفت
اند کے بر غنچہ ھائے آرزو بارید و رفت

The mote ot my heart was about to gain acquaintance with the sun,
The broken mirror was about to become a world-reflector,
The plant of my wishes was to come to life,
Ah, none knows what I was about to become!
The cloud of mercy pulled up its skirt from the garden and passed away,
It rained for a short time on the buds of my wish and passed away.

In his early days Iqbal was brought up in a religious atmosphere and his school and college education strengthened his religious feelings. A variety of sentiments which is found in his poetry consists of the fundamental qualities of beauty, love and mysticism. His mystic taste combined with his fine æsthetic sense gave rise to a poetry of rare beauty and his study of philosophy was a considerable aid to the development of his thought.

During the last decade of the nineteenth century, the foundation of a symposium (Musha'ara) was

laid in Bazar-i-Hakiman, inside Bhati Gate, Lahore. The symposium used to be held at the house of Hakim Amin-ud-Din, who was a Barrister-at-Law. Hakim Shuja-ud-Din was the president of the institution, Mirza Arshad Gorgani of Delhi and Mir Nazir Husain Nazim of Lucknow were active members of the institution. They recited their verses to the audience. Their disciples and admirers also took part in the proceedings. The number of visitors was often fairly large. The musha'ara was a great attraction for the local students who also took part in it and passionately vied with one another in sharing the applause and acclamation. Amongst the youth was Iqbal who was destined to be famous later on. His verses attracted the notice of the public. In this very Majlis-i-Musha'ara and in these very days, Mirza Arshad Gorgani's farsightedness marked the great future in the budding poet's verse:

موتی سمجھہ کے شان کریمی نے چن لئے
قطرے جو تھے مرے عرق انفعال کے

His Grace picked them up for pearls—
The drops that were the result of my perspiration for shame.

Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan writes:—

"In the midst of a huge admiring audience, Iqbal could be seen standing on a dias, reciting verses in sweet tunes which exacted applause and occasioned an indescribable enthusiasm. I was a witness of this scene several times when, amidst a tempest of

acclamation, Iqbal was carried away almost fainting through an effort to meet a greedy demand of this cultural audience."

Opposite to the house, where the symposiums were held, was the small house of Hakim Shahbaz-ud-Din who was devoted to Islamic brotherhood and love and was accustomed to entertaining his triends and guests. His amicable personality had turned his residence into a club house. The citizens of Lahore who had a refined taste assembled there. That lovable figure, the Hakim, his entertainment and the sparkling conversation of the members of the Majlis attracted those who were interested in national movements to this house. The beauty of Iqbal's verse impressed the Hakim and his friends, who admitted him to their circle. After a short time, Iqbal became the member of their society, Shorish-i-Mahshar (there was a magazine of the same name too). His early poems were all read there and he was also profusely complimented. Thus, his poetic genius found ample opportunity to grow and when his poetry reached a fair standard of perfection, he was asked to write a poem for the anniversay of the Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam, Lahore. All the poems that he recited afterwards on the platform of the Anjuman were recited there previously. The compliments paid in the circle of his friends went a long way to awaken the poet in Iqbal.

These friends used to meet at the house of

Maulvi Ahmad Din, Advocate, as well. There they indulged in semi-political discussions in those days of international disturbances. A war was then going on between Greece and Turkey and Bulgaria was also involved. The discussions of these people of blessed memory would several times rouse a mild sense of militarism in them. The friends used to range themselves on the sides of Greece and Turkey and often argument reached fever heat. To-day almost all of them have passed away and their Shorish-i-Mahshar has been silenced for ever awaiting another *Shorish.*

"Leaving aside," writes Sir Abdul Qadir in his foreword to *Bang-i-Dara* "the early days of Iqbal's poetical practice, the period of his Urdu poetry begins sometime before the 20th century (1896, when he was a B.A. student). I saw him for the first time in a symposium at Lahore, probably two or three years before 1901. He was drawn to this meeting by some of his friends, who compelled him to recite a lyrical poem. The people of Lahore were not acquainted with Iqbal till then. It was a short lyric. The words were very simple and the metre was not so inconvenient. It was a frolicsome poem in an unaffected style and was very much appreciated by the audience. Later on, he occasionally attended the symposium, to recite his poems. The people then came to know of him as a promising poet, but, his fame was at first confined to the local collegians

and to such men only who were connected with educational affairs. In the meantime, a literary society was founded. Its members included some well-known men and there grew a demand for subjects both of poetry and prose. Sheikh Muhammad Iqbal at one of its meetings recited his poem *Koh-i-Himala* (Ode to the Himalayas) which reflected the poet's love for his country. It opens:

اے همالہ! اے فصیل کشور هندوستاں
چومتا هے تیری پیشانی کو جھک کر آسماں

O Himalayas! Ye, rampart of the Indian realm!

The sky stoops to kiss your forehead.

"It is an invocation to the lofty mountains and is an index of modern thought. The poem is full of English ideology and Persian phrases. It smacked of patriotism, and was in tune with the time and the taste of the people. The people liked it and requests to publish it were received from various quarters, but, the Sheikh (Iqbal) did not part with it, the excuse being that it required a revision and the poem could not be published. Shortly after, I decided to bring out the literary magazine *Makhzan* to serve the cause of Urdu literature. In the meantime I had developed friendly relations with Sheikh Muhammad Iqbal. I elicited a promise from him to write verses in the modern style for my magazine... ..*Koh-i-Himala* was published in the first number of the first volume of the *Makhzan* in April, 1901.

This was the beginning of Iqbal's Urdu poetry gaining publicity. The practice continued as far as 1905, when he left India for England. The publication of his verses was originally confined to the *Makhzan* but, as his fame spread, various magazines and journals requested him for verses and numerous associations and societies asked the Poet to recite verses at their annual meetings. Sheikh Sahib was now a professor at the Government College, Lahore, free from a student's cares and passed his days and nights in literary pursuit and society. His mind was fresh and full of vigour. Under the influence of the Muse he brought forth countless verses in a single sitting. His friends and students, who happened to be near him, used to sit close to him with pen and paper; they took down his verses, while Sheikh Sahib was in poetic ecstacy. I never saw him with pen and paper purposing to think out verses. With him it was more like a flowing river or a fountain of words; while writing poetry, he always appeared in a peculiar poetic mood. He sang his verses in a beautiful voice, almost entranced, and the people around him could not escape his influence. Iqbal had a keen memory and recited his verses in the form of a continuous poem. He never took the trouble to write them down. I have had the occasion of many a poet's company and the opportunity to see and hear some of them compose verses, but, such a peculiarity I have found

in no one. A rather strange fact about him is that he, with all his poetic-mindedness, cannot compose verses in response to a request, unless he is under the influence of the Muse. He usually refuses to comply with such requests either from individuals or from societies. The Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam was, perhaps, the only fortunate association whose proceedings were graced by the presence of Iqbal for several years."

Nala-i-Yatim (Cry of the Orphan) was the first poem that Iqbal pathetically read out to the audience at the Anniversary of the Lahore Anjuman in 1899. The poem is full of pathos and comparing the Muslims to a child, bereft of parents, implores the soul of the holy Prophet to look after them. The next year he read out "An Orphan's Address to the Crescent," which was equally appreciated. On a further occasion, Iqbal read another poem, entitled *Abr-i-Guharbar*, incorporating the following beautiful verses:—

هوں وہ مضمون کہ مشکل ہے سمجھنا میرا
کوئی مائل ہو سمجھنے پہ تو آساں ہوں میں
رند کہتا ہے ولی مجھ کو ولی رند مجھے
سن کے ان دونوں کی تقریر کو حیراں ہوں میں
زاہد تنگ نظر نے مجھے کافر جانا
اور کافر یہ سمجھتا ہے مسلماں ہوں میں
کوئی کہتا ہے کہ اقبال ہے صوفی مشرب
کوئی سمجھا ہے کہ شیدائے حسیناں ہوں میں

ھوں میاں سب پہ مگر پھر بھی ھیں اتنی باتیں
کیا غضب ائے نگاھوں سے جو پنھاں ھوں میں

In the primary stage of his career he did not sing his verses. The mode of his delivery was simple and it had its own beauty. But on some of his friends' insistence, Iqbal was requested to sing his verses. He had a melodious voice which was fairly audible for large gatherings. Quiet prevailed all around. Nothing but Iqbal's sweet voice could be heard. It was now difficult for him to read his verses as the people insisted on his singing them. Formerly, it was only some personal friends who appreciated and understood his poetry but the new attraction drew the public to the meetings of the Anjuman and whenever Iqbal was announced to give a poem, thousands of people flocked to the meetings and listened to him entranced.

The annual meetings of the Anjuman were attended by visitors from all over India. The citizens of Lahore, the students of local colleges, lecturers, orators and poets all had equal interest in the proceedings of the Anjuman. The occasion was used for collecting funds for the Anjuman. Iqbal sang his verses and the people contributed to the charitable funds in hundreds and thousands.

When Iqbal was in his youth, Dagh was the most famous poet of the day. He was the Ustaz of the Nizam of Hyderabad and this was one of the causes of his widespread fame all over India. The young poets

from all corners of the country naturally desired to enter the circle of Dagh's disciples. The people who resided in the far-flung places could not approach the poet personally,—used to send to the poet of Delhi their poems for correction by post, and in this way a relation was created which satisfied the traditional institution of *Islah* (correction). The poet, having corrected the poems, used to send them back by post. Hundreds of budding poets, in this way, had connected themselves with him. It was a stupendous task and Dagh had to engage an efficient staff for its disposal. Iqbal also wrote a letter to Dagh and sent a few poems for correction and criticism. In this way, Iqbal established a relation with the unique master of his time who from the point of lyrical poetry was the foremost poet. It is true that Iqbal's early poetry had none of those characteristics which afterwards proved to be the main cause of his reputation Dagh was a shrewd and experienced artist. He at once recognised that the sudent from a far off district in the Punjab was not an ordinary lyricist. It was forthwith communicated to Iqbal that his verses hardly required any correction. Thus the practice of sending poems on the part of Iqbal to Delhi did not last long.

Dagh is a celebrated name in the realms of Urdu Poetry. Iqbal realised the importance of this relation of short duration throughout his life. He had

become a famous poet even in the lifetime of Dagh, who was reasonably proud of the fact that even Iqbal belonged to the circle of his disciples. Dagh, many a time, told Sheikh Abdul Qadir when he met him in the Deccan that he had the proud privilege of correcting some of the early poems of Iqbal and admired his poetical skill. Iqbal was no less proud of this relation :

نسیم و تشنہ ہی اقبال کچھہ اس پر نہیں نازاں
مجھے بھی فخر ہے شاگردی داغ سخنداں کا

As a member of the Government College hostel, he had all the advantages of a social atmosphere, and had the reputation of being a romantic student. He was a lively young man at the College, a charming personality and a successful conversationalist. Being a poet, he had a pleasant sense of humour and the students liked his company. A host of his college friends, later on, rose to be famous figures in various walks of life.

Nawab Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan was acquiring education contemporaneously with Iqbal at Lahore, but they were hardly acquainted with each other. On the latter's return from England, when he was practising as a Barrister-at-Law in the Lahore Chief (now High) Court and had his office in Anarkali, the Nawab and the Sheikh Sahib came to know each other, intimately.

Iqbal was educated in the Victorian age, when

the conflict between the Oriental and the Occidental civilisations had grown keen. The former was giving way and the dazzling new light was entering the Eastern houses with far-reaching results on culture. The people of India were being awakened to the strife of the day by the new forces of time and the spirit of change was brooding all over the land. Freedom of ideas and a wave of modernism had its reaction on Indian thought and life.

The new age had made India politically conscious and a cry for national representation in Government affairs was gaining strength day by day. Iqbal, being a student of history and a keen observer of current affairs, could not remain unaffected. The events around him, when he was a student, had a great effect on his future vision and thought which can so easily be discerned in his poetry.

A PROFESSOR

AFTER passing his M.A. examination, Iqbal was appointed a lecturer in History and Philosophy in the Oriental College, Lahore. Sometime later, his services were transferred to the Government College as an Assistant Professor of English and Philosophy. The College authorities and high educational officers had a very good opinion of his knowledge and ability. His position facilitated his literary pursuits. He held discussions with students at his house, even

after college hours. As a student, he was a diligent and active youth with a sense of responsibility, and when he occupied the chair of a professor, he proved himself a kind, unconventional and affable teacher. During this time he wrote a book on political economy entitled *Ilm-ul-Iqtisad.*

While a professor, Iqbal was known all over the Punjab as a poet and a man of unusual ability, with a background of Mughal culture. Almost all the notable figures in the literary world recognised his high learning and ability. Shibli, Hali and Akbar were all admirers of Iqbal. He carried on correspondence with practically all of them. He was influenced by their poetry and in turn influenced their minds. As his letters show, Shibli had a high opinion of Iqbal, and on many occasions remarked "When the chairs of Azad and Hali fall vacant, the people will search for Iqbal." Apart from his letters, Akbar has confessed Iqbal's skill in verse also. Similarly, Iqbal paid high tribute to them.

When he was a professor of the Oriental College, he occupied a suite of rooms inside Bhati Gate, Lahore, opposite to the house of Maulvi Hakim Din, who was then the Principal of Islamia College. Iqbal and Maulvi Sahib were friends and usually paid visits to each other. Ali Bakhsh, the faithful servant of Iqbal, was in those days newly employed as a servant in the house of Maulvi Sahib. It was

here that he met his illustrious master Iqbal. He was then only fourteen years old—a rustic boy.

As a professor, Iqbal led a simple life. His meals used to be of a light nature and then, only once a day. At night time he would have a cup of saltish tea and often made his way to the college without any food whatsoever. He devoted most of his time to the study of his books, wrote little but read much. His books lay scattered on a table in his sleeping apartment and whenever his servant would think of putting them in order, he would say, " Leave them as they are."

The Kangra earthquake wrought a great havoc all over the Punjab. Lahore also felt very violent shocks. Several houses in the city fell down and the people found themselves in great panic. Poor Ali Bakhsh was in a state of bewilderment, running from room to room. In the meantime Iqbal was lying in his bed. His attention was drawn towards the restless servant. He raised his head and said, " Ali Bakhsh! Don't you run about, take your stand on the staircase!" and then continued reading the book he had been reading.

While lying in bed, Iqbal was usually found in deep meditation with pencil and paper. A wave of poetic mood would pass across his face.

The peculiar conditions of the country and the political sentiments of the people influenced Iqbal's

poetic genius to make him think of his native land. As a result, besides his description of scenery, he gave expression to his patriotic spirit in many of his beautiful poems such as *Nia Shawala*, *Tarana-i-Hindi* (National Anthem), *Hindustani Bachchon ka Git*. In March 1904, he recited his well-known poem *Taswir-i-Dard* at a meeting of the Anjuman. The poem is written in the national spirit, and the ideas of Hindu-Muslim unity are incorporated therein. It is a beautiful poem and belongs to an important period in the history of Iqbal's poetry.

He wrote his *Tarana-i-Hindi* towards the end of 1904.

HIGHER STUDY IN EUROPE

IQBAL was extremely fond of books and a voracious reader. He passed his days and nights in study but his intention to find out truth by higher studies did not leave him content. Through the liberal help of his brother he was able to go to England for advanced study in philosophy and to qualify himself for the Law. It was due to his thirst for knowledge that he undertook a voyage of thousands of miles, away from his native land, friends and family and stayed away for three long years.

In September 1905, Iqbal left India for Europe and on his way prayed at the shrine of Hazrat Mahbub Ilahi (Nizam-ud-Din Aulia of Delhi) :—

چلی ہے لے کے وطن کے نگارخانہ سے
شراب علم کی لذت کشاں کشاں مجھہ کو

دلوں کو چاک کرے مثل شانہ جس کا اثر
تری جناب سے ایسی ملے فغاں مجھہ کو

From the picture-gallery of the country,
The flavour of the wine of knowledge is taking me away forcibly.
That pricks the hearts (of the people) like a fork,
Grant me such a plaint from thy threshold.

For the first few months, he stayed with his friends in London at 19, Adolphus Road, Finsbury, N., London. They were a happy lot of friends, most of whom were students. All of them were strangers in a strange land. In those days, there was a great misunderstanding about Islam in England, as the Pan-Islamic movement was looked upon by the English statesmen as a danger to Europe and particularly to British interests in the Near East. There was a society in London called Anjuman-i-Islam. Hafiz Mahmud Shairani was its Secretary. The Anjuman aimed at facilitating all the social amenities in a foreign land. It was now desired by some young men to change the name of the society into Pan-Islamic Society, but some members were not in favour of the new name, as it had a political significance while the Society had no such aims and objects. Mr. (later Sir) Abdulla Suhrawardy insisted on the word "Pan-Islamic," but Mr. Arnold and Mr. Amir Ali were against the proposal and suggested that it should be "Islamic Society" to avoid any misconception about the society in England. The discussion had not yet come to a close when the

secretary of the society approached Iqbal and solicited his opinion about the name of the society. The secretary was himself a Pan-Islamist. "Are you going to support me Iqbal?" enquired the secretary. "Certainly," was the answer. Ultimately, the members agreed that the society should be named the "Pan-Islamic Society" and the society had for its aims and objects the defence of Islam.

Iqbal did not like to appear in public and seldom desired to create an occasion for public speech. His Indian friends of Adolphus Road asked him to deliver a lecture under the auspices of the Pan-Islamic Society.

The lecture was arranged at the Caxton Hall, the subject being, "Certain Aspects of Islam." The hall was packed, Iqbal spoke *extempore*. It was a spirited speech that held the audience spell-bound. After the lecture, the learned lecturer was asked several questions. Among those who questioned, there was a certain Englishman who, like Goldsmith's School-teacher, "though vanquished, argued still." Iqbal gave him a crushing reply.

The next day his speech was reported verbatim in all the morning papers such as the *Daily Telegraph*, the *Standard*, *The Times*, the *Pall Mall Gazette*, the *Morning Post* and the *Daily Mail*. This was the first of a series of Iqbal's lectures in England. He delivered in all six lectures on Islamic subjects.

Iqbal, as a student, was very popular in social

circles in England. He was welcomed everywhere and was liked by all who sat around him whether they were Easterners or Westerners. He was a tireless conversationalist and his talks used to be very interesting. There were some forty members in the boarding-house where Iqbal resided in London. They were French, German and English and all of them liked him and when Iqbal entered the dining-hall, all of them greeted him with "Hallo, Iqbal! Here is a chair for you." Iqbal responded to their courtesy—and at the same time, he cracked a joke with the servant also.

The peculiar English society made him very free. He knew his way in London. He possessed a very amusing and entertaining personality. He recited his verses to his friends in a silvery voice and indulged in showing his skill as a fortune-teller by means of cards. Perhaps he had a scanty knowledge of *Raml*, his friends maintaining that it was a mere trick.

Once Iqbal and one of his friends went about in London in search of a house "To Let." In a street, where they came across the words "To Let," they made an enquiry. A young lady appeared and said: "We are all young people and like society and would be very glad to have you here." "You have very fine eyes," remarked Iqbal. "This is not the first time that the people have paid compliments to me," returned the lady.

A certain Jewish girl used to sell tobacco in a London street. One day she was introduced to Iqbal by one of her customers. "Here is my friend, Iqbal." She stepped forward to shake hands; Iqbal lost no time in paying a tribute to her courtesy.

Iqbal remained for three years in Cambridge pursuing his researches. He attended a course of lectures by McTaggart (that Philosopher-Saint) as an advanced student of Trinity College. The University of Cambridge conferred on him a very high Degree in Philosophy. His valuable thesis on Persian Mysticism (The Development of Metaphyscis in Persia—1908) which he presented to the University of Munich, in Germany, obtained for him the Degree of Ph.D. His thesis has been published by a London publisher in the form of a book. It is a scholarly work, reviewed by famous men of letters in well-known English journals and is appreciated all over Europe. The book has been translated into Urdu under the title of *Falsafa-i-Ajam.* On his return from Germany, he passed his Law examination at Lincoln's Inn and joined the London School of Economics and Political Science with a view to study sociology and politics and there he had the privilege of enjoying the society of learned scholars, scientists, politicians and statesmen.

Iqbal left his impression on some of the great European minds. His life in England brought him

in close contact with many prominent figures in England. The names of Arnold and McTaggart have already been mentioned. Professor Sorel of Cambridge once remarked that Iqbal was the most acute student of philosophy he had ever met. Dr. Nicholson is a well-known Orientalist who had a personal acquaintance with Iqbal, whose conversation at the first meeting was so charming that the distinguished Professor felt a strong desire to meet this talented Indian again. Luck brought them together once more and the admiration felt for the brilliant young man resulted in Dr. Nicholson's translating (years after Iqbal's return to India) his Persian poem *Asrar-i-Khudi* into English. It is not often that Indians capture the fancy of eminent men of letters in Europe.

Iqbal had a very busy time in England, yet he delivered six public lectures on Islam on various occasions. His lectures were appreciated in all quarters. His name now came to be associated with religious research. He worked for three months in the London University as an Arabic Professor in the place of Professor Arnold.

At the age of 32-33, Iqbal returned to India, laden with high degrees, well acquainted with several European languages, besides Persian, Arabic and Sanskrit. Through sheer hard work and ability he had earned a name for himself. The high esteem

that Iqbal enjoys to-day all over India and Europe has been the lot of a very few Indians. He landed at Bombay and passing through Delhi and Ambala where he stopped to see his friends, he reached Lahore on Monday evening, July 27, 1908. His friends and the *elite* of Lahore had gathered at the railway station to welcome him. He was publicly entertained by his friends and admirers with feelings of pride and joy, for the reputation he had earned at home and abroad.

The three years (1905-1908) that Iqbal spent in Europe form the second period of his poetical career. Although he had comparatively little time for poetry, and the number of his poems written there is small, yet they reflect a deep colour of experience and observation abroad. During this time he had to encounter two great changes in his ideas. One day Iqbal resolved to give up writing poetry for ever, solemnly affirming that he would not compose a line and that the time he spent in spinning out verse, should be spent in more useful work. Sir Abdul Qadir assured him that his poetry was no small matter that could be dispensed with. On the other hand, it was replete with a directive force which could beneficially be used for the uplift of the fallen nations. So it was not in the fitness of things to put into disuse such a useful gift of God. Iqbal was hardly convinced of the argument. In the meantime, it was agreed

upon that the last decision should rest with Arnold. Arnold agreed with Sir Abdul Qadir and held that it was not in the interests of Iqbal and his country for him to give up poetry. This was one kind of change. And the other which took its origin in a small beginning and which had a great end was that Iqbal adopted Persian as the medium of his expression instead of Urdu. His inclination towards Persian must have had many reasons. His diligent study in the domain of Persian mysticism required him to go through numerous Persian books. This fact must have gone a long way to bring about a change in his linguistic taste. Besides, since Iqbal had to undertake a deep study of philosophy and had to express his reactions, he found that in contradistinction to Persian, Urdu had a very scanty stock of words. He could easily make use of Persian phraseology which had already been coined and polished through centuries by the efforts of great Persian masters. On the other hand, it was really a trial to express himself in Urdu with the easy grace of a versatile artist. Thus, his inclination towards Persian was only a natural consequence of his Persian study. Ostensibly a very insignificant event which led to the beginning of his Persian poetry was that he was once invited by a friend and requested to recite some Persian lines and was asked whether he ever wrote verses in Persian. He had to confess that he had never attempted—except a

line or two. It was a peculiar occasion. The request moved his heart to the extent that on coming back from his friend's house, although late at night, he at once set down to composing Persian verses. Next morning, when he met Sheikh (now Sir) Abdul Qadir he had two Persian poems in the finished form which he orally recited to him. By composing these lyrics he came to know his capacity in Persian composition, which he never had the chance to test. On his return from England, although he occasionally wrote verses in Urdu, the stream of his poetic thought had been turned to Persian. This is the third period of his poetical career which began after 1908. During this period, he wrote several poems in Urdu, but, the real task that occupied the attention of the poet was his Persian poem *Asrar-i-Khudi*, which was followed by *Rumuz-i-Bekhudi.* These two poems represent the same theme in continuity. The poet was occupied for a long time in thinking out the framework. The book made the name of Iqbal well-known in foreign countries.

The European education and environment of Iqbal changed his angle of vision. He now visualised a strong contrast between the two continents—Asia and Europe. Asia was another name for Inertia. The Eastern nations indulged in revelry and were very light-minded. The causes were not far to seek—the wine-dispenser and the poet, the companions of happy days and the comrades of

ease and leisure. Europe on the other hand was a scene of activity and the Western nations believed in self-help.

Born and brought up in the Eastern traditions, the mind of Iqbal found a favourable opportunity for growth in the European atmosphere. His studies in philosophy and social experience in Europe brought to light the secrets of life, Divine Vicegerency (خلافت الہیہ), consequences of material civlization and the value of freedom. Iqbal had also come to realise the short-sightedness of his compatriots and the narrow vision of nationalism. Islamic Shari'at had a great significance for him. The Islamic principles of faith, Muslim brotherhood, equality and the unity of God attracted his attention.

India was passing through strange circumstances in 1907 and political struggle had a new meaning for politicians. Iqbal sent his verses from England to the students of Aligarh in 1907 and enunciated his views He therein drew the attention of the youth of Islam towards Islamic unity, constant desire and an ardent heart.

آتی ہے کوہ سے صدا راز حیات ہے سکوں
کہتا تھا مور ناتواں لطف خرام اور ہے
بادہ ہے نیم رس ابھی شوق ہے نا رسا ابھی
رہنے دو خم کے سر پہ تم خشت کلیسیا ابھی

The voice came from the mountain: "The secret of life is Inertia";"

The weak ant said: "The pleasure of movement is quite different."

The wine is yet half-brewed and the desire is immature yet;

Let the brick of Ecclesia yet cover the head of the cask!

The inspiring poem which Iqbal wrote to his old friend Sheikh Abdul Qadir opens a new chapter in the history of Iqbal's poetry. The poet seems to have been deeply impressed by the sad state of the Muslim world and draws attention towards the revival of Islam :—

اٹھہ کہ ظلمت ہوئی پیدا افق خاور پر
بزم میں شعلہ نوائی سے اجالا کر دیں
رخت جاں بتکدۂ چیں سے اٹھا لیں اپنا
سب کو محو رخ سعدیٰ و سلیمیٰ کر دیں
دیکھہ یثرب میں ہوا ناقہ لیلیٰ بیکار
قیس کو آرزوئے نو سے شناسا کر دیں

Arise, darkness has prevailed over the Eastern horizon,

Let's light up the Assembly by our fiery voice!

Let's depart with the necessaries of soul from the Pagoda of China,

And make everybody enamoured of the faces of Su'da and Suleima:

Mark, the dromedary of Leila has become useless in Yathrab

Let's acquaint Qais with a new desire!

IQBAL AS A LAWYER

ON his return to India from England in 1908, Iqbal joined the Lahore Bar. We have seen how he had become a star of the poetic gatherings at Lahore before he proceeded to England. As a lawyer, he had now greater chances to become a public leader.

"Though the profession of law was uncongenial to his æsthetic temperament, he had reluctantly to devote himself to it to earn his living. This period of his career is interesting to those who value his invigorating influence on Indian life more highly than his cautious advances in the realm of law. During precious intervals between his professional work, he wrote some thrilling poems which awakened the people from the torpor of centuries and breathed into them something of his own faith and hope. He thus became both the herald and the exponent of a new age. Past history and the events of our own time teach us that to slay men has ever been easier than to mould their thoughts anew, and that the true grandeur of character alone can defy this withering influence of an age of corruption. But the fertility of his mind and the magic of his Muse has enabled Iqbal to dispel the thick fog of apathy and to create yearnings by penetrating the innermost recesses of the natural heart." (Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan.)

At the outset, he occupied a bungalow on

Chatterji Road and shortly after occupied a flat in Anarkali close to the present Bombay Cloth House and stayed there till he shifted to McLeod Road in 1922. He employed Munshi Tahir-ud-Din as his clerk for legal work in the first year of his practice (1908) and the Munshi Sahib served his noble master throughout his legal career.

The fame of Iqbal as a poet had already spread far and wide. It was of great use to him in his legal career, but, he was not after amassing money and felt disturbed by his clientèle. He was a poet primarily, and after that a lawyer. He took very light meals, usually once a day, and kept awake for the greater part of the night passing his time in prayer. He was fond of reciting the Holy Quran. While reading the Holy Book, he was often seen with tears trickling down his cheeks that dropped on the book.

As a lawyer, he was an upright and honest man and would not accept a case in which he was sure that he could be of no help to the client or when the case was bound to fail.

He did not take a keen interest in the legal profession, but, whenever he diverted his attention to it he used to get a fairly large number of cases. Once he was invited in the famous Dumrao Raj case by the well-known Calcutta lawyer, the late Mr. C.R. Das to give his opinion about the correct reading of a disputed word as an expert before the court. The Doctor

proceeded to Patna and he received one thousand rupees per day as his fee and a hundred rupees daily allowance for his clerk. Dr. Abdullah Suhrawardy and many other lawyers were there. Pandit Moti Lall Nehru was counsel on the other side. The Doctor was requested to stay there for a month or two and study the case. He might go to Lahore or Calcutta as he wished and come back again when his presence was required before the court. Mr. Das came to welcome the Doctor but did not turn up the next day. The Doctor told him that he was thinking of leaving for Lahore, as he was fully prepared to give his opinion and could no longer stay there. Mr. Das explaind to him that it was a State affair and by his mere stay he could earn a thousand rupees a day and if he liked he could stay for two months. But the Doctor appeared before the court the next day where Mr. Das and other lawyers were conducting the case He drafted his opinion and presented it to the court. The money was demanded forthwith, but it was too late now, as the banks had been closed. However, the arrangement for his fees was made and the Doctor took the next train to Lahore. (On his way, he paid a visit to Maulana Akbar of Allahabad who had retired from service)

He used to deliver discourses to the students of the different colleges at his office in Anarkali. A large number of local collegians gathered there to hear the learned Doctor speak on various literary and

philosophical topics. The society of the Doctor was of great benefit to the numerous students who later on shone in various spheres of life.

While in England, Iqbal had set forth the plan of his future poetry in his poem *To Abdul Qadir.* The poem, if viewed carefully, presents a dim picture of what he wrote afterwards. Herein he foreshadows his longer poems of the future, *e.g., Shikwah, Jawab-i-Shikwah, Sham'-o-Sha'ir, Khizr-i-Rah* and *Tulu'-i-Islam* (The Rise of Islam). The poet's study in the libraries of Europe and extensive travelling on the continent had convinced him that materialism could not bring real happiness to the world and that the real growth and development of the human race could in no case be made wholly to depend on it.

With his return from England starts the third period of his poetical career. At the very beginning he stretched out his hands for prayer to God that the efforts of the Muslims might bear fruit: " Rekindle the dead embers in the hearts of the Muslims, banish their despair, give them a new desire, and warmth of life and constant passion for demand ! "

He no more believed in nationalism :

باك هے گرد وطن سے سر داماں تيرا
تو وه يوسف هے كه هر مصر هے كنعاں تيرا

Thy skirt is free from the dust of *locale*,
Thou art a Joseph and every Egypt is thy Canaan.

He now aimed at the unity of Islamic people to give a lead to the world.

یہ نکتہ سرگذشت ملت بیضا سے ہے پیدا
کہ اقوام زمین ایشیا کا پاسبان تو ہے
سبق پھر پڑھ صداقت کا، عدالت کا، شجاعت کا
لیا جائیگا تجھ سے کام دنیا کی امامت کا

The history of Islamic People proves the secret truth—
That thou art the guardian of the nations of Asia.
Learn again the lesson of Truth, Justice and Chivalry!
Thou wilt be required to guide the world.

He condemns the distinction of colour and race.

جو کرے گا امتیاز رنگ و خون مٹ جائیگا
ترک خرگاہی ہو یا اعرابی والا گہر

Whosoever shall resort to the distinction of colour and blood shall perish,
Even if he may be a Turk, residing in a majestic camp or a high-pedigreed Arab.

In 1910, the world forces opened a bloody chapter in the history of the Muslim world. The Balkan and Tripoli Wars were inflicting a mortal wound on Islam. The candle of the Caliphate at Istanbul was flickering to die and the prestige of Islam was in danger. Our poet was shocked at the high-handedness of the Western Powers. He wrote touching verses and read them to large gatherings.

On the 6th of October, 1911, he read his historic poem *The Blood Offering of The Martyrs*—خون شہدا کی نذر in the Shahi Mosque, Lahore. It

was a pathetic poem and it moved the hearts of the audience. The people listened to the poet with tearful eyes. The Muslims were terrified to see Islamic countries in danger. As a poet is naturally very sensitive, Iqbal felt this universal Islamic calamity more than any one else. He now regarded the native land as an idol and believed that the individual was destined to merge in the universal nation. So he sang *Tarana-i-Milli* instead of *Tarana-i-Hindi* as follows:

چین و عرب ھمارا ھندوستاں ھمارا
مسلم ھیں ھم وطن ھے سارا جہاں ھمارا

China and Arabia are ours: India is ours—
We are Muslims and the whole world is our native land.

He considered geographical nationalism as detrimental to the cause of Islam.

Later on he read his longer poems *Shikwah* (The Complaint), *Sham'-o-Sha'ir* (The Poet and the Candle), *Jawab-i-Shikwah* (The Reply to the Complaint)—1912, *Khizr-i-Rah*—1922 and *Tulu'-i-Islam* (Rise of Islam)—March 1923.

PUBLICATION OF *ASRAR-O-RUMUZ*

BEFORE leaving for Europe, Iqbal's national poems had become very popular. In England his verse acquired Islamic colour. On his return to India, he paid less attention to poetry for some time. On the

eve of the Tripoli War, he read a short poem which marked the beginning of his longer poems. *Shikwah* and *Sham'-o-Sha'ir* were written for the annual meetings of the Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam. *Jawab-i-Shikwah* was read at a public meeting, during the Balkan wars, and afterwards the poet turned his attention to Persian.

Besides studies at the Universities of Cambridge and London, Iqbal had the golden opportunity of visiting the great libraries of the Continent. As he had undertaken an extensive study in the domain of Persian mysticism in order to write an original thesis which he presented to the University of Munich for his Doctorate, he developed a peculiar taste for persian Poetry. Iqbal, as mentioned before, had never attempted Persian poetry before he paid a visit to Europe till he was one day questioned by a friend as to whether he wrote Persian poetry He was a great admirer and lover of Rumi (better known as Maulana-i-Rum) and his mystic *Mathnawi*. Rumi had a profound influence on Iqbal and is to him what Virgil was to Dante. Besides, Iqbal was not free from the influence of other masters of Persian poetry such as Sanai, Saadi and Hafiz, at least so far as form and diction are concerned.

On his return to India, Iqbal devoted most of his time to the production of a highly philosophical poem known as *Asrar-i-Khudi* (The Secrets of the Self) which was first published at Lahore in 1915.

Another equally long poem *Rumuz-i-Bekhudi* is its complement. The basis of both these poems is the development of the Self in two different circles—individual and social. *Asrar-i-Khudi* has been translated by Dr. R A. Nicholson of Cambridge and is published by Macmillan.

According to *Asrar-i-Khudi*, the Self is the basis of the Universe and the constancy of the individual life depends upon the strength of the Self. The life of the Self depends on desire. Love is an all-pervading influence that strengthens the Self. Asking weakens the Self. When the Self is strengthened through love, the universal forces come under its dominion. According to the poet, the subject races invent the doctrine of the negation of the Self to weaken the character of their rulers. The Platonic teachings had an adverse effect on Islamic literature and mysticism, and the poet sounds a note of warning against this influence. It was a "sheep's doctrine" that Plato followed. The poet describes the three stages in the development of the Self. They are Obedience, Self-control, and Divine Vicegerency.

In the story of the Sheikh and the Brahman, followed by a conversation between the Ganges and the Himalayas, the poet explains the truth that the continuation of social life depends on firm attachment to the characteristic traditions of the community. The *raison d'etre* of a Muslim is to exalt the

Word of Allah and Jihad (War against Untruth) is in no case lawful, if Earth-hunger is the underlying cause.

The metre and form of the poem are those of Rumi's *Mathnawi* but it is based on a different structure of thought which the poet has developed into a system of philosophy. Iqbal believes in the fundamental existence of the Self and lays emphasis on its expression and protection. In the words of Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan, which occur in the preface to his book *A Voice From the East*, "as a Muslim poet, his belief in the illimitable sources of human nature is such that he gives the tidings of boundless development of the individual. The human soul, being an atom of energy, is according to his philosophy capable of widest expansion, provided it loyally submits to a moral discipline which he expounds in his Persian poems.

"His poems have profoundly stirred the soul of the people in India. The entire nation had lapsed into deep slumber and there seemed little left to labour on behalf of moral progress. For several decades a contempt for religion was in the circles of highest culture, as almost essential index of the liberal mind. It is not easy to explain how the soul of the nation had decayed under the influence of self-seeking petti-mindedness.

"The poet awakened lofty feelings, aroused pride in the motherland and set the people dreaming about

the greatness of their destiny. The youth of the country realised that pettiness was the grave of all greatness. They, like the poet, determined not to adapt themselves to the world but to mould the world in accordance with their own will."

S. Umrao Singh, a fervent admirer of Iqbal writes in his foreword to *A Voice from the East*:

"Iqbal through his powerful expression draws the attention of the world to those constructive principles which underlie religion—Islam in this case particularly.

"While reading one of these poems with the poet, I have been struck with the wealth and terseness of constructive ideas which escape one in a cursory reading due to the association of the words with their old significance. He is enriching the content of idea in the words which his potential genius has appropriately selected for their phonetic harmony, in a manner which reveals the truly creative nature of his work. The future ages will read more sense into these words and expressions as we find in other languages which have not remained stationary, and the future generations will understand him better than we do now. In this consists the value of his work as a man who has ploughed up the soil of race ideas in their language, adding further significance to words as we find in the works of F. W. Bain who has enriched the content of word

and phrase in the English language by adding to them the significance of classic India which they hitherto lacked. With the same grace and absence of awkwardness Iqbal has been handling the Persian and Urdu tongues.

"Often at the house of my friend Zulfiqar have I seen Iqbal enveloped in that blue haze which has become the accompaniment of the genial and magnetic atmosphere thrilling with subtle poetic vibrations which require no stretch of imagination to feel. Converse at such times has ceased through the touch of that spirit which precedes his song...... The pure and sparkling ambrosia of the gods flows and is demanded again and again and one feels a wish to share it with other kindred spirits."

A famous scholar, Mr. Herbert Reed while making a critical observation on Iqbal's *Asrar-i-Khudi*, says.

"But subject to these elucidations this idea of Whiteman's is a critical ideal of workability, of direct use. Apply it here and now, I can think of only one living poet who in any way sustains the test and almost necessarily he is not of our race and creed, I mean Muhammad Iqbal, whose poem *Asrar-i-Khudi*, "The Secrets of the Self" has recently been translated from the original Persian by Dr. Reynold Nicholson and published by Macmillan. Whilst our native poetasters were rhyming to their intimate coteries about cats and corncrakes and other homely or

unusual variations of a Keatsian theme, there was written and published in Lahore this poem, which we are told, has taken by storm the younger generation of Indian Moslems. 'Iqbal' writes one of them, 'has come amongst us as a Messiah and has stirred the dead with life. And what catch-penny nostrum, you will ask, has thus appealed to the covetous hearts of the market-place, you will then be told, as I tell you now, that no nostrum, neither of the Jingo nor of the Salvationist, has wrought this wonder, but a poem that crystallises in its beauty the most essential phases of modern philosophy, making a unity of faith out of a multiplicity of ideas, a universal inspiration out of the esoteric logic of the schools.'

"Although the poem is addressed to the Moslem people but its underlying truths are eternal verities and can be applied to the uplift of all those societies whose form remain when the soul is dead, when the spirit has finished.

"This dynamic philosophy of Iqbal inculcates the vital principle of developing the latent forces inherent in man, in order that a radient and commanding personality may find manifestation, the travail of humanity being a necessary preliminary.

"In this youthful new world of his own creation, he will build his chosen realm of natural and rational rights: his great deeds will be commensurate with his great thoughts. But for this mighty soul also, there is a period of rigorous discipline in order

to attain to larger life and higher development. It must not be forgotten that this careful preparation is absolutely essential in order that his gradual purification may illumine his entire nature." (Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan.)

According to Iqbal, "The Self is divine and unlike what the science of the West reduces it to be no better than a mechanism and a prey to circumstances. Islam has made man the lord of creation." His philosophy greatly deals with the Education of the Ego.

Iqbal was very anxious to see a radical change in the present state of the Muslim world. He succeeded to a great extent in creating a new social outlook and affected the currents of thought in the fast changing world of to-day. He viewed with confidence the possibility of a world-wide theocratic state (with Kaaba as its centre) in which all Muslims no longer divided by the barriers of country and race, would be one. Nationalism and Imperialism had no fascination for him. He came to the succour of the fallen nations of the East just in time.

KNIGHTHOOD

IN 1901, on the death of Queen Victoria, Iqbal wrote a pathetic poem which was very much appreciated in the official and non-official quarters, and sometime later, on the occasion of the Punjab

Governor's visit to a meeting of the Anjuman, he read an admirable piece of poetry in praise of the distinguished guest's high learning. During the Great War he wrote a poem which was published in the official journal "*Haq*" and was again very much admired in all circles, but, the Government came to know of Iqbal's achievements as a poet when his Persian publications (*Asrar-i-Khudi* and *Rumuz-i-Bekhudi*) had won high esteem in the eyes of European scholars and the Press. These two Poems were translated in several European languages.

Sir Edward Maclagan, a former Governor of the Punjab, was a great educationalist and a patron of art and learning. He was impressed by the high intellect and philosophy of Iqbal. Consequently, the Government appreciated the poet's genius by conferring a Knighthood upon him in 1922. His friends maintain that a Knight was never created on more real merits than in the case of Iqbal. The honour was conferred upon a poet who never entertained any desire to win a title. He always preached the gospel of freedom. As a result the vernacular press was highly vocal in pungent criticism. The following few lines are typical :—

لو مدرسۂ علم ہوا قصر حکومت
افسوس کہ علامہ سے سر ہو گئے اقبال
پہلے تو سر ملت بیضا کے تھے وہ تاج
اب اور سنو تاج کے سر ہو گئے اقبال

کہتا تھا یہ کل ٹھنڈی سڑک پر کوئی گستاخ
سرکار کی دہلیز پہ سر ہو گئے اقبال

Lo, the seat of Learning has become a Government palace

Alas, Iqbal has risen to Knighood from an Allamah.

He was, formerly, the crown of the head of the Muslim people

Now listen (another news), Iqbal has become the Knight of the Crown.

Some impertinent fellow was saying yesterday on The Mall,

Iqbal bowed his head low at the threshold of the Government.

But the grand fête which was held in the Mausoleum of the Emperor Jahangir in honour of the poet was representative of all classes of the people and the *elite* of Lahore. It was attended by dignitaries and men of letters from all over the Punjab. The Punjab Governor and numerous Englishmen, and ladies were invited to the party.

It was a distinguished gathering which bore ample testimony to the fact that the poet was held in high esteem and regard by his countrymen. The Doctor delivered an interesting speech on this occasion and through this speech the people were for the first time introduced to his famous work *Piam-i-Mashriq* (The Message of the East) which

the poet was writing in response to the famous German poet, Goethe (Johann Wolfgang von).

MORE LITERARY PRODUCTION

THE publication of *Asrar-o-Rumuz* established Iqbal's reputation as the Poet-philosopher of the East. As the *Mathnawi* deals with the secrets of the Self, exponent of his realistic philosophy, it set the people of India athinking and had a very healthy effect on Indian society. In 1922 the poet published the *Piam-i-Mashriq* (Message of the East) wherein his poetic genius finds full expression in his many beautiful poems. The *Piam* was written when he had developed his poetic art and drunk deep of the Western fountains. His studies in the realm of Western thought, coupled with his vast Eastern learning perfected his mind and enabled him to think on new lines.

The *Piam-i-Mashriq* was written in response to the Western Diwan of the German poet Goethe, who was a great admirer of Hafiz and Saadi. Besides him, a large number of German poets, who came after him had a great fascination for Persian poetic thought. It was known as the Oriental movement. Iqbal's object in writing the *Piam* was to present moral, religious and national truths, which have their relations with the inner development of individuals and nations. Goethe's *Diwan* was

written when Germany was passing through a state of national deterioration. He guided his nation through the "Mortal Passage." The present state of the East bears a close resemblance to the conditions prevalent in Germany, a hundred years ago. Iqbal did not fail to see that Europe in the post-war period was striving for the creation of a new world, a dim picture of which may be observed in the writings of Einstein and Bergson. Throughout the *Piam* the poet is conscious of the fundamental truth, referred to in the holy Quran as:

ان الله لا یغیر مابقوم حتی یغیروا ما بانفسهم

He views the disintegration of the Islamic world with great concern and indefatigably preaches the doctrines of the 'Survival of the Fittest' and the 'Struggle for Life'. In *Zindagi-o-'Amal* he says:

موج زخود رفتهٔ تیزخرامید وگفت۔ هستم اگر میروم گر نروم نیستم

A wild wave rolled fast and said,
"I am, if I move: If I don't, I am not"

The first part of the *Piam* includes quatrains presenting forth some of his philosophical interpretations of the intricate problems of human life, such as eternity, manifestations of God, desire and its effects on the world, love and reason and their influence on man, life and materialism. A number of other poems, such as *Life, the World of Action, Wisdom and Poetry* are dealt with in the second part. Then there are a few pages, devoted to beautiful *Ghazals*.

Under the caption of *Naqsh-i-Farang* there are short poems on the great men of Europe, such as Schopenhauer, Tolstoy, Carl Marx, Neitzsche, Einstein, Hegel, Goethe, Bergson and Lenin. *Khurda* (Ruby Wine) brings *Piam-i-Mashriq* to a close.

After the publication of the *Piam*, the poet recited his two well-known poems, *Khizr-i-Rah* (1922) and *Tulu'-i-Islam*—Rise of Islam (1923). *Bang-i-Dara* (The Cry of the Bell), a collection of Urdu poems was published in 1924 and contains the poet's verse up-to-date. For some years later, Iqbal was known to be a poet only of the Persian language, which he had chosen to speak with felicity to the Islamic nations.

The *Piam* was followed by the publication of another Persian work of equal importance *Zabur-i-Ajam* (The Psalms of Persia) which aims at the creation of a new spirit in the youth. The book aroused great interest and materially added to the poet's fame. We are told that Iqbal looked upon *Zabur* as a masterpiece of his poetical perfection: *Piam-i-Mashriq*, however, is regarded by the reading public as a work of great merit.

TRIBUTES TO THE POET

SINCE the publication of *Asrar-o-Rumuz*, the fame of Iqbal spread far and wide, and his poetry was equally popular outside India. In May,

1924, during ex-King Amanullah's regime, Iqbal's verses were recited before a distinguished gathering at Kabul in connection with the prize distribution of school students. Among those present were the King himself, foreign ambassadors, notable citizens, the Education Minister and other high officials. The students sang the poet's popular song مسلم ہیں ہم وطن ہے سارا جہاں ہمارا (We are Muslims and the whole world is our native land) and it was repeated by the military band. It touched the heart of the audience. *Tarana-i-Hindi* is the Indian national anthem. *Tarana-i-Milli* is sung all over the Muslim world as the Islamic anthem.

Agha Shair Qizalbash is a well-known poet of Delhi. He has been in the service of many Indian princes as a court poet. In 1926 he happened to be in the Grand Hotel at Calcutta where he met a member of an American travellers' party. During the conversation, the American traveller asked him "Who are you and what do you do?" The Agha answered, "I am the companion of a Maharaja and am a well-known poet." The traveller said, "Then, are you Iqbal?" The Agha writes: "I was surprised to hear that, and had to bow before the vast popularity and imperishable personality of Iqbal."

Besides the visitors from our own land—India, men of letters from Germany, England, America, Egypt, Turkey, Iran, Turkestan, Afghanistan and

other countries came to see our world-famous (but of retired habits) poet.

The inspired poetry of Iqbal was so popular among the people that his life sketch was published in English and Urdu, during his life and his poetry was reviewed by men of high intellect. His life-giving poems have drawn forth *Kasidas* in his praise. Maulana Ghulam Qadir Girami, who was one of the illustrious Persian poets of the modern age wrote much about Iqbal and the following couplet is indeed a unique tribute to him and is justified too:

در دیدهٔ معنی نگهاں حضرت اقبال
پیغمبرئے کرد و پیمبر نتواں گفت

In the eyes of those who look to reality,
Iqbal has played the rôle of a prophet; though he cannot be called a prophet.

The importance of Iqbal in the penetrating eyes of Girami may well be visualised from the following verse:

درس ماضی از کتاب حال گیر ساغر از خم خانهٔ اقبال گیر
از نوایش بزم یورپ در خروش حکمت امریکه او را سفته گوش

Take the lesson of the past from the book of the present:
Take a cup from the tavern of Iqbal-—
His voice has created a tumult in the society of Europe
The wisdom of America confesses his authority.

MEMBER OF LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

AS a matter of political creed, Sir Iqbal was always

with those who fought for the freedom of the country, but, he had few occasions to enter the arena of active politics. So he writes:

یہ عقدہ ہائے سیاست تجھے مبارک ہوں
کہ فیض عشق سے ناخن مرا ہے سینہ خراش

May you be blessed with these problems of politics
For due to the beneficence of love, my nails are tearing my breast.

Knowing well that the Doctor was peaceably disposed and never took part in active politics, his friends and admirers requested him to stand as a candidate for the membership of the Legislative Council and contest the election campaign. The citizens of Lahore are well aware of the numerous meetings that were held in favour of Iqbal in 1926.

Sir Iqbal entered the Council as a representative of the Muslim community. He asked questions about the general progress and deliverance of Muslims, but as he held the cause of his country dear to his heart; particularly as he had a natural love and sympathy for the poorer classes (peasants and labourers), he never sided with the land-lords --to reduce their land tax or income-tax, nor did he support any other member's motion, and at the time of support he won many members of the House to his side by his powerful and reasoned speeches.

There is a section of People in the country which, in order to entangle the Government in difficulties,

creates dissensions among the people and causes disorder in the country—flings mud on religious leaders. Iqbal moved in the House that a recommendation should be made to the Governor-in-Council that a regulation should be enforced to prevent the mischievous and insulting attacks on religious leaders. Since 1927, therefore, the regulation came in force. The Doctor also proposed the exclusion of the sword from the ambit of the Indian Arms Act. To remove the curse of drink, he put forth a resolution that Prohibition should be the ultimate object of the policy of the "dry scheme" and its period should not go beyond fourteen years. Nili Bar, a vast tract of thousands of acres, was sold by the Government and the major portion of the area was bought by the capitalists. In this connection Iqbal proposed that half of the area should be reserved for the peasants who have to undergo manual labour to do the farming.

Whenever any epidemic breaks out in the cities, official and non-official arrangements are made and every kind of medical aid is provided for the patients, but no such arrangement is made for the rural area. The Doctor, therefore, suggested to the benefit of the villagers, that a committee should be formed of official and non-official members, who should consider the report for the progress of rural health.

On February 28, 1932, the Revenue Member presented the Provincial Budget before the Council. Sir Iqbal while criticising it, disclosed the secret irregularities of the Revenue System and discussing the reduction of tax remarked:

"The irregularity consists in holding the view in connection with the land tax that all land is the property of the Government; such a claim for the general property was never made in the ancient times, nor was such a demand put forth in the times of the Moghul kings. This is the historical aspect of the question which has been admitted by the Committee of Enquiry into taxes. The fact is that the Government in this country has never made such a demand. We are told that the Moghuls had presented such a claim,—but the inhabitants of the Punjab were the owners of the land when the race of Babur had not even stepped into the hall of history. The only conclusion is that kings constantly come and go and the nation only survives.

سکندر رفت و شمشیر و علم رفت
خراج شهر و گنج کان و یم رفت
امم را از شهان پاینده‌تر دان
نمی بینی که ایران ماند و جم رفت؟

"And if such a view was ever held, it is not lawful in the twentieth century. At the present time every piece of land—small or big—is subject to land tax. A person might be the owner of two

kanals or two hundred *kanals*; however, he has to pay the tax. On the other hand, the principle of capacity has to be borne in mind for the imposition of income-tax. It is a scale of degrees. Some people are not charged with income-tax. My opinion is that the Council should reconsider the reduction of taxes in the light of this principle."

In 1928 the theory of Government property formed a topic of discussion. The Doctor in this connection said:

"The first European writer who discussed this theory was Perron. In 1887 he discarded the theory after a complete research and examination. In 1830, Bragger made a research about law and custom. The writer gives a detailed account of the laws of Manu, Islamic *Shari'at* and the customary restrictions in the various parts of India, such as Bengal, Malwa and the Punjab. His conclusion is that in no period of Indian history, the Government has claimed the land as its property."

Sir Iqbal's speech for the remission or reduction of rent, distinction between income-tax and land tax and the exception of land from the Government property was very powerful and a long one. This speech was addressed to the Revenue Member, the Honourable Sir Fazl-i-Husain. The Revenue Member laid emphasis on two points in his arguments: (1) Money is badly wanted for the progress

of the province. (2) The Government does not know the science of Alchemy. To these arguments Sir Iqbal gave a beautiful reply. He said, 'In my opinion the Government need not learn the science of Alchemy, so long as the labouring peasants of the country, whose perspiration turns the earth into gold, are in its possession." The Revenue Member, in response, rose to say: "The same old revenue system shall continue or it shall have to be dropped. There is no third choice." The Doctor further explained:

"If the honourable Member admits the injustice of the present revenue system, some measures may be adopted for the removal of this injustice." And as for the remedy, the Doctor. suggested that a person who had not more than ten *kanals* of land (provided . . . .) with a limited produce, should be excused the payment of tax. When the Revenue Member expressed his fear that the resolution would be the cause of the death of the infant Revenue Bill and the members of the Council would be guilty of infanticide, Iqbal said: "Nowadays as the people are indulging in birth control, to kill such a child, which would most probably grow to be a mischievous boy, is a common thing. In my opinion the demand that the tax upto ten *kanals* should be excused is not unreasonable."

In connection with the remission of tax for the

person who possessed two and a half acres, the Revenue Member said, "It is as in without relish." The Doctor forthwith replied: "If you will commit this sin, without relish, you will at least prove that you have a regard for justice." Towards the end, the Doctor asked the Government to help the poor peasants who could not even get sufficient produce to feed their young.

The friends of Iqbal requested him to stand for the next Council election. Some prominent political leadears asked the Doctor to enter the Council, but he refused saying: "I have been examined for the whole of my life. The people go to the Council for various personal ends, I have no such end."—the reason being that the Doctor was a man who passed his days fighting against the hypocrisies of life.

MADRAS LECTURES

IN the last days of December 1928, Sir Iqbal was invited to Madras to deliver a series of lectures. He stayed there for three days. He gave *six* lectures on Islam and some of them were repeated at Hyderabad (Dn.) and Aligarh. Various associations presented addresses of welcome to him. His photographs appeared in almost all the vernacular and English newspapers of Madras, Bangalore and Mysore. Several press representatives and scholars of religion and philosophy discussed with him

religion, philosophy and politics. In Madras, besides the Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Urdu, addresses of welcome were presented to him by the Brahman Scholars of South India. On January 9, 1929, when the Doctor arrived at the Bangalore Railway Station, thousands of people had assembled there to pay homage to the great scholar. He was presented an address of welcome on behalf of the Muslim Library, and the meeting was presided over by Amin-ul-Mulk Diwan (now Sir) Mirza Ismail, Chief Minister of Mysore. The students and the educated classes had arranged another meeting, which was presided over by Dr. Sobarayan, Director of Education Department, Mysore. The poet had received an invitation from the Maharaja of Mysore at Bangalore. He, therefore, stayed at the Government Guest House at Mysore. The University of Mysore arranged for a lecture to be delivered by him. The next day, the Mysore Muslims presented an address to him at the Town Hall. A professor of philosophy of the Mysore University. who was a non-Muslim remarked in the course of his speech : "The Muslims may claim Dr. Iqbal a million times as their property, but he belongs to us all. He is not an exclusive property of any religion or class. If they are proud that Iqbal is a member of their religion, it is no less pride to us that Iqbal is an Indian."

After paying a visit to Mysore, Bangalore, Sirangapatam and other places, the Doctor reached

Hyderabad (Dn.) on January 14, where a group of young Muslim students were singing :

"چین و عرب ہمارا ہندوستاں ہمارا"

In addition to the masses, all the members of the Osmania University were present at the Railway Station. Here the poet was informed that he was the guest of the Nizam's Government, therefore he proceeded direct to the Government Guest House. On the 18th of January, in the morning, the poet met His Exalted Highness the Nizam. Various newspapers of Hyderabad (Dn.), Mysore and Madras published valuable articles on the literary achievements of the poet, and the Mysore paper *Al-Kalam* published a special "Iqbal Number."

DELEGATE TO ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

IN 1930 Dr. Iqbal was elected President of the All-India Muslim League and some time after President of the Muslim Conference. The addresses that he delivered at the Muslim League and the Conference meetings are in many ways historic, particularly the one delivered at Allahabad in 1930. In the meantime the British statesmen were meeting the Indian political leaders at the Round Table Conference in London, with a view to scan the possibilities of the new constitutional reforms. Dr. Iqbal was also invited as a delegate to the second Round Table Conference. He, therefore, sailed for London in 1931. On his way, he visited Cairo and Rome and attended the Islamic

Conference in Palestine. On his return from the Conference, he paid a visit to Spain to visit scenes of Islamic achievements in the past.

At the Round Table Conference, Iqbal co-operated in political discussions with His Highness the Agha Khan and Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah. In fact the Doctor was the soul of the Trio and the Communal Award took the present form mainly due to their efforts. The question of separate electorates loomed large in the discussions throughout. The late Mian Sir Muhammad Shafi and others had almost yielded to the Congress and it was mainly on account of Iqbal's constant insistence on safeguarding Muslim rights that separate electorates were incorporated in the Communal Award.

The valuable advice that Iqbal gave to the British statesmen, Mr. Gandhi and his friends at the Round Table Conference, will always be remembered with gratitude by Muslims. Iqbal's work at the Conference will ever adorn the pages of Indian history because of his grasp of the intricate problems of race and civilization and his knowledge of the art of government so far as India is concerned.

A VISIT TO KABUL

THE family of the late King Nadir Shah of Kabul (Shah-i-Shahid) was greatly interested in the work of Dr. Iqbal during his lifetime. Kabul has not only

been a fervent admirer of Iqbal's poetry but also his advice on domestic affairs was always keenly sought. Most of the members of the Afghan royal family are equally conversant with Persian and Urdu—one of the reasons for their appreciation of Urdu literature and familiarity with the people of India.

The Doctor was deeply distressed at the political chaos that followed the Amanullah regime. When General Nadir Khan (afterwards King Nadir Shah) returned from Paris and was passing through Lahore, Iqbal went to see him at the railway station and told the General that he wanted to speak to him in private. Moving aside, the Doctor said to him, "I have five thousand rupees with me and here they are. Take this money and make use of it in the rescue of the Afghan nation." "How can I accept it from a Faqir," returned the General. "You are still more of a Faqir than myself," explained the Doctor and asked, "How much have you?" The General told him that he had only a hundred rupees on his person.

Whether or not the General accepted the money is not known, but Iqbal's sense of sacrifice must have impressed Nadir Shah greatly.

General Nadir Khan succeeded in eliminating the riotous element in Afghanistan and brought back peace to the land of the "stubborn and hardy people." He himself became the head of the State. After he was free from domestic worries, he cherished

a desire to invite the "Philosopher-poet of the East" to Kabul to meet him as a friend. So he wrote to the Doctor intimating his desire to see him. To avoid any misconception the Doctor suggested to His late Majesty to create an occasion for such a meeting. The Kabul Government then invited in 1933 a deputation of three learned scholars of India to advise the Government on educational affairs, relating to reform in the Kabul University. The Indian deputation included Iqbal, the late Sir Ross Masood and Syed Sulaiman Nadvi. Mr. Ghulam Rasul, barrister-at-law of Lahore, accompanied Iqbal and so did professor Hadi Hasan of Aligarh as private secretary of Sir Ross Masood. Ali Bakhsh (the Doctor's servant) was, of course, with them.

The Doctor bought a valuable copy of the holy Quran as a present for the Shah and a cover of green velvet was ordered for it.

The Doctor left for Kabul with Sir Ross Masood; Syed Sulaiman followed them. They passed the night at Jalalabad and started for Kabul the next morning and reached their destination in the evening. Ahmad Shah Khan, the Afghan Minister, met the deputation at a distance of about eight miles from Kabul, to welcome them on behalf of the Afghan Government. They were taken to the Dar-ul-Aman University. Nadir Shah had sent an intimation to Dr. Iqbal that he was his personal guest. The next day, an interview with Nadir Shah was arranged.

The Shah met Iqbal alone and later Sir Ross Masood was also received by the late ruler.

At a private meeting, the Doctor presented his copy of the holy Quran to the Shah and with tears in his eyes remarked, "I present this Holy Book to you—the word of God, the pages of which are laden with 'bright signs,' the secrets of the Cosmos—this is all that I possess. I am a Faqir."

The deputation stayed at Dar-ul-Aman for about eight or ten days. The visitors came in large numbers to see Iqbal and those who were with him.

On his return from Kabul, Iqbal paid a visit to Ghazni and Kandahar and it was in these historic cities that he wrote his poems incorporated in *Musafir* (The Traveller). He reached Lahore *via* Chaman and Quetta. A few days after his arrival at Lahore, the newspapers announced the murder of Nadir Shah.

LATER PUBLICATIONS

IN 1928-29, Iqbal delivered a series of lectures on the Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam at Madras. These lectures have been published in the form of a book (Oxford University Press). "In this book, the author attempts to reconstruct Muslim religious philosophy with due regard to the philosophical traiditions of Islam and the more recent developments in the various domains of human knowledge. And the present movement is quite

favourable for such an undertaking. Classical physics has learned to criticise its own foundations. As a result of this criticism, the kind of materialism which it originally necessitated is rapidly disappearing, and the day is not far off, when religion and science may discover hitherto unsuspected mutual harmonies."

After *Zabur-i-Ajam*, Iqbal published another Persian work, *Javid Nama* which is a long serial poem. In this poem, the poet explains his philosophy while taking a trip to the heavens in the company of Pir-i-Rum (Jalal-ud-Din Rumi). The style and technique of the book bear close resemblance to that of Dante, the famous author of the *Divine Comedy.*

Iqbal was now more inclined towards Urdu and published *Bal-i-Jibril*—a collection of his Urdu poems that came to the hands of the Urdu-knowing public many years after the publication of *Bang-i-Dara* which contained the poet's Urdu poems upto 1922. *Bal-i-Jibril* was followed by *Zarb-i-Kalim* which is described as a declaration of war against the present age and was published for the first time in 1936. In his later years, the poet wrote two Persian poems *Musafir* (The Traveller) during his journey to Afghanistan in 1933. The other *Pas Chih Bayad Kard Ai Aqwam-i-Sharq* (Then What to do O Nations of the East!) was undertaken in connection with the attack of Italy on Abyssinia. *Pas Chih Bayad Kard*—is a Persian *Mathnawi* and includes *Musafir.*

As the poet was equally concerned with the social and political affairs of Islam, he wrote two highly instructive articles on "Islam and Qadianism" and "Islam and Ahmadism," with a reply to certain questions raised by Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru which were published in the form of pamphlets in 1936.

During his last days, he had prepared a collection of Urdu and Persian poems under the name of *Armughan-i-Hejaz*, the publication of which was contemplated in the near future, but as the end of the poet had drawn near, the work could not see the light of day in his lifetime.

ILL-HEALTH

IN 1923-24, Dr. Iqbal suffered from an attack of kidney trouble. He was then residing in his bungalow, situated on McLeod Road. A certain doctor advised Iqbal to accompany him to England for expert medical treatment. Iqbal had almost decided to go to Europe taking his nephew with him and was about to leave his bungalow, when the late Nawab Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan paid a visit to him one day. As Sir Zulfiqar Ali learnt that Iqbal proposed to leave for Europe, he asked him to wait till he had consulted Khawaja Hasan Nizami and consequently wrote a letter to him. The Khawaja consulted Hakim Nabina Sahib and requested Iqbal to give the Hakim a chance to treat him before leaving for Europe. At Delhi he

was to undergo treatment for eight days by the Hakim Sahib and was cured till the disease reappeared about five or six months before his death. The Hakim was again requested to send the medicine. The medicine was used and as a result the trouble vanished.

The disease that proved fatal took its origin in 1934 on the occasion of *'Id* when Iqbal partook of some food and as a result his vocal organs were affected. He had to go to Delhi. Some of the physicians there were in favour of electric treatment, and in that case Iqbal would have had to go to Bhopal. It may be mentioned here that in 1935 the Nawab of Bhopal was pleased to bestow a life pension of Rs. 500 per month on Sir Muhammad Iqbal in recognition of his services to Persian and Urdu literature His Highness was prepared to defray the expenses of Iqbal's visit to Vienna for medical treatment, but, Iqbal declined his generosity.

On one occasion he stayed with the late Sir Ross Masood at Riaz Manzil in Bhopal. Again, as Sir Ross Masood's residence was under repair, Iqbal stayed in the Shish Mahal (formerly the Nawab himself occupied this building). Sir Ross Masood used to visit the poet frequently. Most of Iqbal's poems adorning the pages of *Zarb-i-Kalim* were composed at the Riaz Manzil and the Shish Mahal.

During his last days, the Doctor often expressed a desire to go for a walk in the garden adjoining his

bungalow, but, he only walked to its gate and returned. In reality, he was not strong enough to move about.

The Inter-Collegiate Muslim Brotherhood in order to pay their homage of love and affection to one, who during the last 30 years of his life had consistently and indefatigably interpreted the deep religious, cultural and political spirit of the East in his poetical and philosophical writings, undertook to organise "Iqbal Day" on the 9th January, 1938. Glowing tributes were paid to the poet on this occasion by prominent men both in the East and the West. Among other messages of congratulations received by the Brotherhood, the following are noteworthy:

"I am glad to hear that your Brotherhood has decided to hold Iqbal Day on the 9th January, 1938. I desire to associate myself with the tributes that will be paid to the genius of this great poet. I have always been a great admirer of Iqbal's poetry. It is something very different from the ordinary Urdu poetry to which we are accustomed. Not only as a literary artist but as a thinker he has achieved a position which will be permanent in our literature." —Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru.

"Personally I am proud of that great Islamic poet and philosopher and have ever availed of his kind society. The whole Afghan nation, whom I

represent and serve here, also recognise Dr. Sir Iqbal as a great Islamic Faqir and philosopher."—The Royal Afghan Consul-General in India.

"I am delighted to hear that there is to be a celebration in honour of Sir Mohammad Iqbal on January 9. He is famous as a poet, as a philosopher, and as an interpreter of Islam far beyond the confines of his own country. Only recently, the Oxford University Press published a book of his philosophic and religious essays which attracted widespread and admiring attention. It is a tragedy that he should have been crippled by ill-health during the last few years. But I was glad to find at a short interview which I had with him a week or two ago that his mind was as alert, as penetrating, and as illuminating as ever. May he recover his full health and strength."—Lord Lothian.

HIS CHILDREN AND WILL

IQBAL was married for the first time in his youth to the daughter of a Civil Surgeon of Gujrat. The lady bore him two children; a son (Aftab Iqbal) and a daughter.

Mr. Aftab Iqbal is an M.A. of the London University. During his stay in London, he had also qualified himself for the Bar.

In 1916-17 (*circa*), he married another lady, a sister of Khawaja Abdul Ghani. She was very

generous and kind-hearted. She loved the poor and gave them in charity as much as she could. On McLeod Road there lived some families of the so-called "untouchables" who had embraced Islam. She used to give lessons to their girls in the holy Quran.

Iqbal's family moved to Javid Manzil on the 19th May, 1935, and Lady Iqbal died on the 23rd of May.

She left behind two children, a son (Javid Iqbal) and a daughter (Munira Banu). Javid Iqbal is now fourteen. He was first sent to the Sacred Heart School in Lahore and studied there till his eighth year. He then went to the St. Francis School in Anarkali and finished his primary education there. After that he joined the Central Model School, where he is at preset studying in an upper class.

Munira Banu is about seven years of age. She was first sent to the Islamia Girls School. She is now studying at the Kinnaird School.

In 1919-20 (*circa*) Iqbal was married again. His third wife was the sister of Dr. Ghulam Muhammad of Ludhiana. She died in 1924-25 (*circa*). She was devoted to Iqbal. He felt the shock of her death very much. He often shed tears while mentioning her name and said that he had no one to serve him now. He was in need of someone to look after him.

Iqbal has left a will which chiefly concerns his two children, Javid Iqbal and Munira Banu. Therein Ch. Muhammad Husain, Superintendent, Press Branch, Sh. Ijaz Ahmad, Sub-Judge (the Doctor's nephew), Hakim Munshi Tahir-ud-Din and Khawaja Abdul Ghani (Javid's uncle, now dead) were appointed guardians of the children. Iqbal, besides domestic instructions, described in the will his own view and attitude towards religion which is interesting. He says:

"I follow the path of early Muslims. I don't believe in *Taqlid.* Of course, I follow Imam-i-Azam Abu Hanifa in action and all this I have adopted after my personal research in Islamics. If you come across a Muslim in the true sense of the word, try to follow his footsteps and—

گر نیابی صحبت مرد خبیر   از اب وجد آنچه من دارم بگیر

If thou dost not find the society of a man of knowledge,
Take from me all what I have from my forefathers

PASSING OF IQBAL

DR. Iqbal was afflicted, during different periods of his life, with a disease of the kidneys and gout.

It was his habit for years to have one meal a day. His evening meal either consisted of a little *dalia* with a small quantity of milk or some other light refreshment. Often he would eat nothing and in winter at about nine at night, he would have saltish Kashmir tea.

About eleven years ago, Iqbal had an acute attack of renal colic which lasted for many days. He consulted Khawaja Hasan Nizami, and as a result Hakim Abdul Wahab Ansari, *alias* Nabina Hakim, was engaged to treat Iqbal. After this, whenever any trouble arose, letters were sent to the Hakim Sahib and medicines were received from him.

Some four years ago, the disease reappeared and in the end proved fatal. Apparently there seemed to be no trouble, but, as the vocal organs had been affected, the Doctor lost his voice. This loss of voice may be attributed to the fact that, on the occasion of *'Id* in 1934, he was served with a dish of vermicelli (*sewaiyan*). According to the Doctor, the real cause was exposure to cold during the prayer in Shahi Mosque. In the beginning the diagnosis was dubious. Some of the medical advisers were of the opinion that there was something wrong with a vein, connected with the heart and it required a surgical operation, and some thought that electric treatment was necessary. Consequently, Iqbal went to Bhopal twice and stayed there for about a month on each occasion. Hakim Nabina's treatment was continued all along. As a result, Iqbal's condition improved but the disease did not wholly disappear; so once he determined to go to Europe for a surgical operation.

Iqbal was not accustomed to go out much. He seldom attended any dinner parties. He usually

expressed his inability due to indisposition—the main reason being that he was against going to dinners, where wine was served as a matter of course So long as his vocal chords were not afflicted, he used to go to the High Court to conduct his cases. He probably went out of his house for the last time, when His Highness the Nawab of Bahawalpur came to Lahore. The Nawab had invited Iqbal for his advice about the establishment of a *Dar-ul-Ifta.* It was probably three or four months before his death.

In 1935, Javid's mother died. Iqbal had two young children to look after. Those who happened to know his inner feelings knew that with all his wonderful patience and control, his heart was deeply affected by this blow which hastened his untimely end. In October 1935, he had come to believe that his time in this world was short. So he one day sat aloof with a pen in his hand to write his will. Having done this, he sent it to the Registrar's office and, after that, whatever addition was considered essential was written separately and preserved.

The disease was gradually getting worse and his general strength was on the ebb. But his usual conversation never showed signs of fatigue. He often talked as he did in the past. In literary and political discussions with the poet, one could not believe that he was seriously ill and his end was near.

Some two months before his death, he had an

attack of asthma. It was so acute that on one occasion he fell from his bed. This was the first time that the seriousness of his illness realised. The incident deeply affected the circle of his friends and was a cause of anxiety to them. He had periodic relapses which differed in degrees of seriousness. Hakim Muhammad Hasan Qarshi, Principal of the Tibbiya College in Lahore undertook to treat Iqbal, and there was some improvement in his health.

Hakim Nabina Sahib was in those days in Hyderabad. A detailed account of the illness was sent to him and he accordingly sent the necessary medicines. Many expert physicians like Dr. Muhammad Yusuf, Dr. Captain Ilahi Bakhsh and Dr. Yar Muhammad Khan visited Iqbal. Dr. Muhammad Yusuf was from the very beginning, of the opinion that the disease was an incurable one and he stated that, according to his experience, such patients would at the most live for seven or eight months. The only help that they could offer their patient was in regard to his diet.

This diagnosis was purposely kept secret from Iqbal. The news of his illness was not published in the press, because, it was essential not to cause him distress and also that people might not come in large numbers to enquire after his health. He was requested to remain quietly in bed. The physicians were of the opinion that he was not only to refrain from conversation but also to avoid meditation, a

restriction which his mind could not comply with.

The admirers and friends of Iqbal have cause to remember the physicians and Hakims who treated the Doctor. Some of them were in constant attendance. Hakim Muhammad Hasan Qarshi visited the Doctor daily. He regularly attended upon the Doctor from evening to midnight. He was so diligent in his attention to the Doctor that he proved himself not merely a medical adviser but also a close and affectionate friend of his patient.

In the last years of his life, Iqbal had cataract and could not read as was his wont. Physicians were of the opinion that a surgical operation was necessary, but, as his illness became serious day by day, the operation could not be undertaken. His eyesight had become very weak so much so that he could not recognise the people, who came to see him, unless they stepped very close to him or until he was told their name.

In the beginning of March, 1938, his face and feet showed signs of inflammation, due to the fact that his kidneys were affected. As to his heart, the Hakims and Doctors were agreed that it had expanded.

Iqbal was very sensitive. He could not bear the least pain. Strange to say, however, during his last illness, he was very patience and docile. His various statements, when now considered, make one feel that he had been fully convinced of the approach of his death. He had no faith in his medical treatment

and he kept this fact a secret from his admirers Many a time when the physicians examined him he remarked: "I need hardly be given any satisfaction. You can ask my friends and my attendants whether they are satisfied or not. If they are satisfied, I have every satisfaction."

As it has been mentioned above, both the doctors and the Hakims were of opinion that his heart was not in good condition. One day the Doctor was found in a state of greate distress, weeping bitterly. When the mood had passed, he was asked the reason. In response thereto, he recited the following verse:

تهنیت گوئید مستان را که سنگ محتسب
بر دل ما آمد و این آفت از مینا گذشت

Convey (my) greetings to the Intoxicated, that the stone of the *Muhtasib*
Came upon *our* heart and this calamity passed over the phial.

On the seventh of March, Ghulam Rasul Mihr and Abdul Majid Salik paid a visit to the Doctor. He was told that he would soon recover and would be able to move about. The Doctor smiled and said, "I do not fear death; I shall cheerfully welcome it;"--and recited the following couplet:

نشان مرد مومن با تو گویم
چو مرگ آید تبسم برلب اوست

I tell you the sign of a true Believer
When death comes, there is a smile on his lips.

His malady worsened till he could not even rise from his bed. But his brain was perfectly

sound to the last moment. His God-given gifts were made manifest in every sentence he uttered. In these days he dictated an article on Islam and Nationalism; it was a criticism of a statement which Maulana Husain Ahmad Madani had issued.

Only some four days before his death, Ghulam Rasul Mihr paid a visit to him. A scholar of repute was busily discussing philosophy with the Doctor who described the pith of Darwin and Neitzsche's philosophy in a few sentences. It was a matter of great surprise to the scholar. He answered difficult questions of philosophy unhesitatingly and the method of his answering was perfect.

At this time, Hakim Muhammad Hasan Qarshi had to go to Rawalpindi. In his absence Iqbal had an inflammation on his left side which proved to be a cause of anxiety; this inflammation did not entirely disappear to the last moment On the 7th April when Mihr Sahib was at the Doctor's residence, a certain person was also present. This person referred to the fact that the Doctor had yet to go to Hejaz The Doctor then remarked, "Apparently, there is no chance to go to Hejaz; all depends on the will of God." The Doctor was very anxious to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina, but owing to various reasons, especially his failing health, his desire could not be fulfilled. The Doctor once mentioned that there were some gaps in

Armughan-i-Hejaz which would be filled up during his journey to Hejaz.

On the evening of the nineteenth April, when Mihr Sahib again presented himself before Iqbal, Iqbal's health was not satisfactory. But his general appearance was bright as usual and a light natural smile danced on his lips. No movement of his showed any cause for serious concern, nor could it be guessed from his face or the trend of his conversation that the time of his death was so near.

Iqbal's physicians had predicted many months before that the disease would prove fatal and had warned him against exerting himself too much. He usually occupied a chair or kept to his bed. His body was weak, but his face was bright and his brain always functioned normally.

On April 20, at about five in the evening, an old German friend of Iqbal's, Baron von Veltheim, a literary scholar and a politician, paid a visit to him. He discussed present-day politics and on making an enquiry about his health, the Doctor told the Baron: "I am not afraid of death, I am a Muslim and shall welcome death with a smiling countenance."

A few days before the Doctor's death, a trace of blood had been visible in his phlegm. His Doctors opined that the vein leading to the heart had been punctured. The matter was kept secret from the Doctor. On the evening of the 20th April, his physicians found that his condition was worse and that he

had only a few hours to live. At this time Col. Amir Chand was sent for, for further consultation. He prescribed a medicine which was administered at about 11 o'clock at night.

Iqbal did not like alopathic medicines. He often said that they were not palatable. Perhaps the medicines prescribed by alopaths were very unpalatable, for, no sooner had he taken them than his condition worsened and the Doctor remarked, "I do not want to live any more." And when he was told: "Master! if not for yourself, it is essential for the sake of others that you live." After that, Hakim Muhammad Hasan Qarshi administered some medicine which had a soothing effect.

Since his temperature had risen due to the summer heat, his bed used to be moved to the drawing-room from his sleeping-apartment. On the evening of the 20th April, he said that he was feeling restless. So his bed was taken out, below the verandah. He again remarked that he found it unbearably hot and consequently the bed was taken to the courtyard. He remained there till 12 o'clock and when the night became a little cooler, his bed was again brought to the drawing-room according to his wish. Some of his admirers stayed with Iqbal till past midnight Seeing that his condition was apparently a little better and he was feeling sleepy, they all retired. Mr. Shafi, Dr. Abdul Qayyum, Ali Bakhsh and Rahman (his two servants) remained with him. Raja Hasan Akhtar was also present.

At about 3 A.M., Iqbal woke up and complained of a swelling on his left leg. Soon after, he developed symptoms of nausea, but he remained calm. In fact upto the very end, his mind was alert. Mr. Shafi was sent to the Hakim's house. The Hakim Sahib was probably sleeping in an upper storey of his house. Mr. Shafi called out for him but his voice did not reach the Hakim. He returned, and Raja Hasan Akhtar was asked to call upon the Hakim. It was nearly 5 o'clock in the morning. The Raja Sahib remarked that since the Hakim had gone home at about one o'clock, it would be better to wait for a little while longer. The Doctor then said: "You cannot imagine the state, I am in." Hearing this, the Raja Sahib instantly prepared to go to the Hakim. At this time Iqbal recited the following quatrain to the Raja Sahib, which was probably composed three or four months earlier :

سرود رفته باز آید که ناید   نسیمی از حجاز آید که ناید
سر آمد روزگار این فقیرے   دگر دانائے راز آید که ناید

The departed melody may or may not come,
The breeze from the Hejaz may or may not come,
The days of this Faqir have come to an end,
Another Wise One, again, may or may not come.

After the Raja Sahib had left, the Doctor wished his bed to be moved to his sleeping-apartment. This occurred at alout 5 o'clock in the morning. At this

time Iqbal had only Ali Baksh in the room.

Ali Bakhsh states that Iqbal, as his strength was failing, stretched out his legs, turned his eyes upwards and called for him and instantaneously placed his hand on his heart and said, "Allah! Here I feel pain." Simultaneously, his head began to droop. Ali Bakhsh immediately placed his left hand on Iqbal's heart and held his head on his right arm. But, by this time Iqbal had breathed his last. His face was turned towards the Qibla. Ali Bakhsh called out for Mr. Shafi and Dr. Abdul Qayyum who were in deep consultation in the courtyard. They came and saw—and remarked, "Say *Kalima Shahadat*, the Doctor is at rest, at last."

On the morning of the 21st April, the sun was about to rise; it was about 5-15 A.M. when this bright "sun of human life had set."

كل من عليها فان و يبقى وجه ربك ذوالجلال و الاكرام O

The bungalow of the late Doctor was erected in the name of the Doctor's son, Javid Iqbal, to whom, it belongs. The Doctor occupied only three rooms accordingly, he regularly deposited in the bank, in advance, in the name of Javid Rs. 50 for these three rooms, on the 21st of every month. On the morning of the 21st April, he breathed his last and this was the last day for which he had paid the rent on the 21st March.

In death Iqbal's face was calm and peaceful and a faint smile played on his lips. It seemed as if he had gone to sleep peacefully with his face towards the Qibla. Perhaps this was the explanation of his verse:

نشان مرد مومن با تو گویم
چو مرگ آید تبسم برلب اوست

I tell you the sign of a true Believer,
When death comes, there is a smile on his lips

FUNERAL AND AFTER

IMMEDIATELY after the passing of Iqbal telegrams were sent to the Nawabs of Bahawalpur and Bhopal, Sir Akbar Hydari, Prime Minister, of Hyderabad State, Hakim Nabina Sahib, His Majesty King Zahir Shah, the Prime Minister of Afghanistan, the Afghan Minister of War and the Afghan Consul-General. Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, the Prime Minister of the Punjab, had gone to Calcutta to attend a meeting of the Muslim League and was on his way back to the Punjab when he was telegraphically informed of Iqbal's death. A condolence telegram was received from His Highness the Nawab of Bahawalpur at about twelve o'clock the same day. His Highness also sent Professor Karamatulla of the Chief's College as his representative to attend the funeral. A telegram mourning the death of Iqbal was received from Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan from Lucknow.

The news of the Doctor's death was broadcast from the Lahore Radio Station. The High Court, District Courts, Colleges, Schools, Government offices and shops were closed as a mark of respect for the late Doctor. The people began to assemble at his residence and kept pouring in throughout the day.

Now the question presented itself to the admirers of Iqbal as to where he was to be buried. After a great deal of discussion, it was agreed that some place adjoining the Shahi Mosque would be appropriate. Khan Saadat Ali Khan, Dr. Khalifa Shuja-ud-Din, Mian Nizam-ud-Din, Mian Amir-ud-Din, Maulana Ghulam Rasul Mihr and M. Abdul Majid Salik visited the Shahi Mosque to choose a site for internment. It was decided that the plot to the left of the steps leading to the Shahi Mosque in Hazuri Bagh was suitable.

A deputation consisting of Khalifa Shuja-ud-Din, Mian Amir-ud-Din, Khan Saadat Ali Khan and Maulana Ghulam Murshid immediately left to wait on His Excellency the Governor of the Punjab. His Excellency very kindly made arrangements for the immediate sanction of the Archæological Department which was essential. The deputation returned with the sanction at about twelve o'clock.

At about four o'clock in the evening, the representative of His Excellency the Governor—His Aide-de-Camp, the Chief Secretary, the Commissioner,

Lahore Division and other officials arrived at Javid Manzil. From amongst the Ministers, Nawab Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, Major Malik Khizar Hayat Khan and Mian Abdul Haye were not in Lahore, at the time of Iqbal's death, but the Mian Sahib had returned. Sir Chhotu Ram, and Sir Sunder Singh Majithia, Raja Narindra Nath, Nawab Muhammad Hayat Qureishi were present. Besides the High Court Judges, Government officials, Lawyers, Journalists, students of colleges and schools and people of all classes attended the funeral.

At the head of the procession was the green Muslim flag with the Crescent and star and the mourners reciting the *Kalimah*, the procession passed along Mayo Road and Railway Road, and ultimately reached the Islamia College ground. There it was decided that the funeral prayers should be said in the Shahi Mosque, so that it could be possible for other Muslims of the city to join the procession. Moving along Circular Road, the procession passed through Chowk Wazir Khan and Kashmiri Bazar. According to a modest estimate, the people who attended the mass prayers must have been no less than seventy thousand. The prayers ended at about eight o'clock in the evening, and at about ten o'clock the remains of the late Doctor were laid to rest in the south-western corner of Hazuri Bagh, under the shade of a minaret of the Alamgir Mosque. His

beloved memory shall ever be cherished in the heart of the Muslim world and his writings shall ever be looked upon as a repository of humanistic thought. May God grant him eternal rest—

صبا بر استخوانش گل دماناد

Wreaths were laid on the grave on behalf of the Nawab of Bhopal, the Punjab Governor and the Agent, N.-W. Railway. Condolence telegrams were received from their Majesties King Zahir Shah and Riza Shah Pehlavi, and also from their Highnesses the Nawabs of Bahawalpur and Bhopal, the Afghan Consul-General at Delhi and the German Consul-General.

His loss was felt all over the world. India was plunged into mourning. Afghanistan, Iran, Turkey, Arabia and Egypt heard the news of his death with regret, and tributes were paid to his memory in London, Paris, Berlin and Vienna.

The following are some of the feeling tributes paid to the memory of the late Poet:

"I feel sure that I am voicing the sentiments of every one when I say that in him the country has lost one of its greatest men."

—Mr. Saleem, Advocate-General, Punjab.

"Sir Muhammad Iqbal's poetical genius was of a high order. His poems in Urdu and Persian will continue to be a source of delight for all time. His philosophy had attracted international attention even

while he was at Cambridge."—*Jagan Nath Aggarwal President, Lahore High Court Bar Association.*

"It was a great shock to all of us to hear this morning the sad news of the death of Sir Muhammad Iqbal and, in the absence of the Chief Justice, I wish to associate this Court with all the good things which have already been said about him. It is now some years since, owing to failing health, he ceased to practise as a barrister, but at one time he was a well-known and welcome figure in the Courts. Urbane in speech, courteous in manner and ready of wit, he was generally popular, while, as we all know, his reputation as a poet was far spread and even international.

"His warmth of heart and his humanity which he succeeded so well in instilling into the beautiful language of his poems gave him a universality of appeal which surmounted the barriers of race, community and religion.

"With his political ideals, we have nothing to do, as the Court keeps itself aloof from such activities. But the Punjab to-day mourns the death of a distinguished master of the legal profession, a great poet whose name will live throughout the ages and a great man, and the Court joins with you in offering its deepest sympathy to his relatives for their sad loss, and it may be some consolation to them to feel and know that he is mourned not only by them but by a much wider circle of persons scattered over the globe."—*Hon'ble Sir James Addison, Officiating Chief Justice, Lahore High Court.*

"The death of Sir Muhammad Iqbal has given me a shock. One of the greatest poets of the modern world has passed away. He infused a new spirit into Urdu and Persian poetry. He was one of the few who could combine a collection of words in an impressive manner with sublime ideas, calculated to raise humanity to a higher status. In his works, poetry and philosophy are riveted together. Their interdependence could be noticed even by a reader and could stimulate in him both poetical imagination and philosophical thought. India has been justly proud of him and mourns his loss."—*Raja Narindra Nath.*

"Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal's most sad and sudden death has given me a terrible shock. In him, the East has lost one of the greatest Oriental poets, India one of her greatest sons, the Muslim world one of its greatest religious and political thinkers, and the world at large one of its most eminent and soundest philosophers. He shall always be remembered as one of the most intellectual men of the world.

"The great legacy he has left, is his sublime poetry, which shall always chide us, when we fall short of our ideal, and guide us as a leading star, to the right direction when we go astray and will inspire us to the right action when duty calls. Let us store, nay treasure, his poetry, his unique and original blending of the highest and the best wisdom of the East and the West, culled from a thousand highways

and by-ways of the literature and philosophy of the ancient and the modern world. Alas! Our loss is irreparable, as the deceased is unquestionably irreplaceable. His death, no doubt, will be mourned deeply and widely and he shall be remembered for all time to come. But perhaps the best way to immortalise his memory would be to raise a permanent memorial in his name."—*Hon'ble Sir Shihab-ud-Din Chaudhari, Speaker of the Punjab Legislative Assembly.*

"It has given me a great shock to learn of the sad demise of Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal. He was a personal friend of mine for whom I had great regard and his death is a personal loss to me. The High Court Bar paid a well deserved tribute to his memory by a reference before a Division Bench of the Lahore High Court. I have no doubt that his loss will be felt as a great blow, not only, by Muslims, but by all communities. His achievements in poetry were of a high order. While his politics and other activities might be forgotten, he will enjoy a permanent place in the chamber of fame so far as his poetry and philosophy are concerned."

—*Dr. Sir Gokal Chand Narang.*

"The death of Sir Muhammad Iqbal creates a void in our literature that, like a mortal wound, will take a very long time to heal. India, whose place to-day in the world is too narrow, can ill afford

to miss a poet whose poetry had such universal value."—*Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore.*

"The passing away of Sir Muhammad Iqbal means the disappearance of one of the brightest stars from the literary firmament of India. Besides being a front-rank poet and litterateur, Sir Muhammad Iqbal was a unique personality. The loss we have suffered through his sad demise will be felt all over the country.

"Latterly he held political views with which many of us could not find ourselves in agreement, but never did anybody question the sincerity of his views.

"In this hour of silence all controversy is hushed and we bow our hearts in reverence for one of the great sons of Mother India. His memory will ever remain enshrined in the hearts of his countrymen through such songs as *Sare Jahan se Achhachha Hindustan Hamara.*"—*Subhas Chandar Bose.*

"I am extremely sorry to hear the sad news of the death of Sir Muhammad Iqbal. He was a remarkable poet of world-wide fame and his work will live for ever. His services to his country and the Muslims are so numerous that his record can be compared with that of the greatest Indian that ever lived.

"He was President of the Provincial Muslim League of the Punjab. till a very recent time when his unforseen illness compelled him to resign, but he

was the staunchest and the most loyal champion of the policy and programme of the All-India Muslim League.

"To me he was a friend, guide and philosopher and during the darkest moments through which the Muslim League had to go, he stood like a rock and never flinched one single moment."—*Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President, All India Muslim League.*

"I have been deeply shocked to hear the news of the death Sir Muhammad Iqbal, whom I met only two months ago in Lahore. One of the greatest living poets of the world, he was a master craftsman in Persian and Urdu poetry and for the last thirty years I have admired him as a poet and a thinker of the first magnitude. India loses in him a great poet and a man of rare culture. My deepest sympathies are with his family."

—*Rt. Hon'ble Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru.*

"I have learnt with deep sorrow of Sir Muhammad Iqbal's death. Only a short while ago, I had the privilege of having a long discussion with him as he lay on his sick bed and his keen intelligence and love of Indian freedom impressed me deeply. By his death India loses a bright and scintillating star, but his great poems will keep his memory fresh in the minds of coming generations and inspire them."
—*Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, ex-President, Indian National Congress.*

"Though the earth may enshrine the precious dust of Sir Muhammad Iqbal's body, his imperishable genius will shine through the ages in undimmed beauty and splendour. My profound homage to his memory."—*Mrs. Sarojini Naidu.*

"How sad to think that Iqbal is no more. Modern India could not produce a greater Urdu Poet. His Persian poetry too has a place of its own in modern Persian literature. It is the loss of the East, not of India alone. Personally I have lost an old friend."

—*Maulana Abul Kalam Azad*

"Heard the news of Sir Muhammad Iqbal's death with deepest sorrow. One of the greatest figures of history of recent times has passed away and I have lost one of my dearest personal friends."

—*Rt. Hon. Sir Akbar Hydari.*

"Sir Muhammad Iqbal's loss is irreparable and no Indian can fill the void which his death has created. He died in the fullness of year and honours and retained the bloom of his magnificent intellectual gifts and clear judgment to the last. As a poet of Indian nationalism, a patriot and politician, his position in the history of his country is assured. His work on the Round Table Conferences in 1931-32 will be duly assessed by future historians, but to those who were associated with him in political and literary activities and had opportunities of exchanging views with him, he seemed a Titan working among pigmies.

" A man of superb intellect, with an essentially sane and sensible outlook, Sir Muhammad Iqbal occupied a unique position by the simplicity and directness of his personality and the unity of his programme. In India his loss will be keenly felt, as she needed men of that type in the solution of infinitely complicated problems. His championship of the claims of Muslims was always tempered by his fervent nationalism, and Indians of all shades of opinion will mourn his loss with some thing akin to personal bereavement."—*Dr. Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan.*

" Please convey to members of the family of Sir Muhammad Iqbal my condolences."—*M. K. Gandhi.*

" Deeply grieved at the sudden and deplorable demise of your leader, Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal. I herewith beg to express on behalf of the German Government and nation the profoundest sympathy and regret. The highly cultural work of your great German scholar and degree-holder will always be kept in the highest esteem and memory."

—*The German Consul-General.*

" India to-day mourns the loss of a great poet, Sir Muhammad Iqbal, and Lahore one of its most famous citizens. Sir Muhammad Iqbal occupied a niche of his own in the temple of literature. His philosophy of life not only exerted a great influence in moulding the thoughts of his countrymen in India, and particularly of Muslims, but it also revealed the East to the Western world. Few Eastern writers and

poets in recent times have had such an appreciative following among discriminating men of letters in the West as Sir Muhammad Iqbal. In Germany especially, where he spent some time before he became a Doctor of Philosophy, his works translated into German revealed the interplay of Eastern and Western thought. If Germany was not Sir Muhammad Iqbal's spiritual home, it is yet impossible to study the warp and woof of his philosophy without being forcibly impressed by the great influence which German thought exerted upon his mind . . . . . His works attracted great attention in the West because they contained the philosophic convictions of one steeped in the Eastern tradition after a close study of European civilisation in Europe itself. Iqbal exerted a great influence over Eastern thought because his outlook was almost pugnaciously Oriental and remained unaffected by his excursions into the realm of Western thought.

"With the exception of a series of lectures in English he delivered in Madras, Iqbal did not employ English or German as the vehicle of his thoughts. What has been a baffling puzzle to his admirers is the abandonment by him suddenly of Urdu and the employment of Irani instead as the medium of communication of his system of philosophy. After winning instant recognition of the magic of his poetic expression in Urdu, Iqbal abandoned Urdu and produced work after work in Irani. He reverted to

Urdu later, but then he was dogged by ill-h which seriously interfered with his work and v has now silenced the voice that stirred the E its depths. His poems in Urdu are vibrant the spirit of nationalism and patriotism, and of them bear the impress of immortality. It is the dominant note in many of these poem patriotism is Islamic in tone, but it is not for reason out of harmony with secular patriotism in his peoms in Irani, however, that one fin exposition of Iqbal's philosophy.

"It was unfortunate for India and the wor letters generally that conditions in India di permit Sir Muhammad Iqbal to devote himse clusively to a literary life and that in the las years of his life his health broke down, but i characteristic of the poet of high endeavour courage to "welcome death with a smile." member of the Punjab Legislative Council or c Round Table Conference, or as a political l of Muslims, Sir Muhammad Iqbal faithfully d duty but it was a poet that tranasfigured the of song and legend. It is as a poet that he wi remembered so long as a word of Urdu or Ir spoken in the world."—*The Civil and Mi Gazette*, April 22, 1938.

"As a distinguished poet and philosopher late Sir Muhammad Iqbal is assured of a high in Muslim literature and thought. A mast

Urdu and Persian, he wrote with fluency and dis
tinction. His earlier poems reveal a spirit of revol
expressive of the discontent which settled on th
Muslim world following the overthrow of Mugha
rule in India. Iqbal was always deeply critical c
the so-called materialism of the West. In *Piyam*
Mashriq, perhaps his best-known work, he deplore
the materialism of Europe and voices the spiritua
message of the East. Yet, despite his aversion t
Western thought and ways of life, Iqbal, both i
idea and expression, often betrayed inspiration from
the West. As a philosopher, he has been compare
to Bergson; he certainly shared Bergson's dislike c
discursive reasoning and, like Bergson, his view
were guided by nature and experience. 'With me
he once wrote, 'these beliefs are matters of livin
experience and not of philosophical reasoning
Iqbal's expression was often abstruse and many hav
seen in this a similarity with Browning But h
great inspiration was undoubtedly Goethe, an
Piyam-i-Mashriq bears eloquent evidence of thi
influence. Though profoundly pan-Islamic in *moti*,
Iqbal's poetry has a universal appeal; like Goethe
his strength lies not as a teacher or thinker but as
prophet of humanity. There is practical wisdom
in his works and a calm optimism.

"It was characteristic of this poet-philosopher
who preached a philosopy of action, to translate hi
thoughts into deeds. In later years, Sir Muhammad

Iqbal took a prominent part in Muslim politics, was a member of the Punjab Legislative Council and also attended the Round Table Conference. His name was linked with the well-known Pakistan scheme. But he soon tired of politics and the end of his life found him again a poet more serene and mellow, but eloquent as of yore."—*The Times of India*, April 22, 1938.

" This is the ideal of Islam which he preached all along life. But if he is inspired by Islam it should never for a moment be thought that he wanted to confine his message to a small section of world's population. The world to-day is in the grip of serious troubles that might deal a death-blow to civilization. Poverty, inequality of wealth, love of money, and lack of principles are some of the symptoms of that deep-seated disease which is eating into the vitals of humanity to-day. Various remedies have been prescribed. Iqbal prescribes the remedy of Islam and reinterprets it in a way so as to suit the patient. The duty of Muslims is, therefore, twofold. On the one hand, to cure their own defects by Islam, and on the other to preach to the world the efficacy of this sovereign remedy for curing its ills. How can Muslims speak to the world of the benefit of the remedy if they themselves suffer? That is why Iqbal wants them first to be a good specimen of humanity and cultivate habit and mode of thought which will make them leaders of the world

once more. That can be attained through Islam only. In prescribing the remedy for the rehabilitation of Muslim peoples, he attains a height seldom achieved by any modern thinker of Islam."—*The Musalman*, April 22, 1938.

"The glowing tributes that have been paid to the memory of Sir Muhammad Iqbal by distinguished men and women belonging to all communities and all schools of thought are a unique testimony at once to the transcendental value of his poetry and the universality of its appeal. It has, indeed, seldom been the lot of a man of letters in India in recent times to receive such high appreciation from so many and such diverse quarters either during his lifetime or immediately after his death. Dr. Tagore, himself one of the greatest poets that our age has known, speaks of him as a man whose 'death has created a void in our literature, that like a mortal wound would take a very long time to heal,' and adds that 'India whose place to-day in the world is too narrow, can ill-afford to miss a poet whose poetry had such universal value.' Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, undoubtedly the most gifted of India's daughters, and herself a poet of no mean order, says with characteristic felicity, that 'though the earth may enshrine the precious dust of Sir Muhammad Iqbal's body, his imperishable genius will shine through the ages in undimmed beauty and splendour.' Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, distinguished alike as a scholar and

a statesman, speaks of him as 'one of the greatest poets of the world at the present time' and 'a master craftsman in Persian and Urdu poetry," whom he has 'for the last 30 years admired as a poet and thinker of the first magnitude.'

"Leaders of political organisations and parties, which at other times contest for supremacy, are equally profuse in their admiration of the high intellectual attainments and the splendid services of this illustrious son of India who, by his sublime and soul-stirring poetry, contributed in no small measure both to India's national awakening and to raising her in the estimation of the world. The President of the Congress says that 'the passing away of Sir Muhammad Iqbal means the disappearance of one of the brightest stars from the literary firmament' and Pandit Jawaharlal describes him as 'a bright, and scintillating star,' while Mr. Jinnah calls him 'a remarkable poet of world-wide fame whose work will live for ever.' Similarly Raja Narendranath and Sir Gokal Chand Narang speak of him in just as eulogistic terms as Sir Nazimuddin, the Bengal Home Minister, whose point of view in so many matters is radically different from theirs. Nor is the official world less appreciative of the great gifts and the distinguished services of the renowned poet. The Governor says in a message of condolence to The Poet's son that 'Sir Muhammad's death is not only a great loss to the Punjab, but has deprived India of one of its

best-known literary figures,' In the same key Sir James Addison, the acting Chief Justice of the Lahore High Court. 'The Punjab to-day,' he said, when the sad event was officially brought to his notice by the Advocate-General and Lala Jagan Nath Aggarwal, President of the High Court Bar Association, 'mourns the death of a distinguished master of the legal profession, a great poet whose name will live through the ages and a great man.'

"What is the cause of this unanimous feeling, the inner significance of this universal tribute? How comes it that at a time when political antagonism and communal feelings are more active than at any previous period in our recent history, the death of a man who, during the closing years of his life, played no small part in communal politics and was actually accused of giving up to a party what was meant for his country and for mankind, is mourned with equal sincerity by persons who are ordinarily arrayed in different and even hostile political camps? It is not due to the fact that man is very much more than a politician, and that literature and philosophy are imeasurably higher and more abiding interests of man than politics? Politics, in their very nature, like religion in its ordinary narrow sense, while they hold together some men and women, divide them from all others. The superiority of literature and philosophy lies in this, that they unite where other things divide. Politics tell you that a man may be

an Englishman, a Frenchman, a German, an Italian, an American, an Indian or a citizen of some other nation, and within that nation itself he may be a Conservative or Socialist, a Republican or Democrat, a Congressman or non-Congressman. Similarly, Religion tells you that you are a Christian or non-Christian, a Hindu, a Muslim or a Sikh or a member of some other religious fraternity. It is the essential function of literature, which has been defined as criticism of life, and of philosophy, which has been defined as analysis of experience, to lift man above these divisions and tell him that whether he is an Englishman, a Frenchman, an American or an Indian on the one hand or whether he is a Conservative or a Socialist, a Democrat or Republican, a Congressman, a Muslim Leaguer or Hindu Sabhaite on the other, he is a man for all that, in that he is essentially and above everything else a man.

"This is the reason why literature and philosophy are the greatest unifying forces in the world, and why in mourning the death of a great poet and philosopher men and women are for the moment lifted above themselves, why for the moment they forget almost entirely their political and religious affiliations and find themselves bound to each other by their common humanity. It is the glory of Iqbal, as of all true poets and philosophers, that his best works are essentially human and touch those deep chords in man's mind and heart which no

religious or political differences can ever reach. Those are the works that people naturally and pre-eminently remember when they stand in the presence of death. At such moments they see the departed teacher's life and character as a whole, instead of in fragments, and as has been so well said, gather up in his personality thus transfigured by the descending shades all the best hopes and aspirations of their own best hours. On such occasions the individual forgets all that is narrow or sectarian in himself or in his surroundings and becomes momentarily one with the universal How happy it would be for the world if the fleeting experience of these rare moments could by some hitherto undiscovered process be made a permanent element in the mental and moral composition of the average man or woman . . . . how much better worth living in, it would be for so many of us who find life almost insupportable in the present conditions of fratricidal and apparently interminable strife!"

—*The Tribune*, April 23, 1938.

"By Sir Muhammad Iqbal's death India loses one of its greatest men of letters, a poet and philosopher. Sir Muhammad Iqbal had been ill for some time but the suddenness of his death comes as a great shock. Three months ago a day was set apart in many Indian towns specially to honour his services to modern Indian thought. In Lahore where he lived, the speakers included Sir

Abdul Qadir, Sir Gokul Chand Narang, Begum Shah Nawaz and other notables. One of them called him the national poet of Islam, and Muslim India has indeed long thought of him as one of its greatest personalities, but his work, like a true artist's, appealed to men and women of any community or nation who were capable of appreciating a poet's thoughts and images, and the lovely words in which he clothed them. His poetry he wrote both in Urdu and Persian, and the Persian poems in particular familiarized other Islamic countries with his message. Translations were made into English and other European languages and Sir Muhammad found in his lifetime the renown that came to many of the world's great poet's only after their death. A well-known Muslim scholar at the Lahore meeting linked Iqbal's name with Ghalib's and Hali's as the three foremost names of Urdu poetry since 1857. 'Ghalib pointed out the new inner revolution that had taken place with the downfall of the old political order. Hali reviewed the past and pointed to future lines of action. It was Iqbal's glory to give a searching criticism of the false standards of the present. Iqbal condemned apathy, timidity and obscurantism, and put activity, courage and practical achievement in the forefront of his message.' 'Iqbal,' an earlier commentator said, 'dreams of a world ruled by religion, not by politics. His philosophy owes much to Nietzsche

and Bergson, and his poetry often reminds us of Shelley, yet he thinks and feels as a Muslim and just for that reason his influence may be great.' Great, it was great, and in the revival of Muslim activity in many spheres of public life his words were a stimulating, challenging force whose vitality Muslim leaders all over India constantly acknowledge. Essentially a poet of Islamic Renaissance, Iqbal was also an interpreter of modern Western thought, and his clear, intellectual writing has strengthened the masculine qualities of Urdu poetry.

"In the formative constitutional period of the twenties and early thirties, Sir Muhammad Iqbal took a leading part in Indian politics attending the Round Table Conference, and presiding at Muslim conferences in this country. He gave the Muslims good leadership and shrewd advice In the loss of a man of such versatility, such capacity for making memorable verse and giving utterance to inspiring searching thought, much more than the Muslim community has suffered India and the world of letters are the poorer for his death, the richer for what he has written."—*The Statesman*, April 23, 1938.

"After a protracted illness the poet and philosopher of the Punjab, Sir Muhammad Iqbal, breathed his last on Thursday morning. Glowing tributes have been paid to his memory by friends and foes alike. Sir Muhammad Iqbal has been praised for

his gift of versification also as a politician. But it is as a philosopher that his work will be remembered and appreciated in years to come. In his lifetime Sir Muhammad was often misunderstood as a communalist, especially during the concluding years of his life. But even his communalism was founded in Internationalism. He believed in the unity of man through Islam. Pan-Islamism was not a political creed with him: it was rather the unification of mankind on a spiritual basis. There was no divorce between religion and politics with Sir Muhammad Iqbal. His religion was all-comprehensive. As a Sufi he believed in the truth of all religions, but Islam, he thought, represented a synthesis of all that was best in all religions. He started as a politician and a patriot, but love of country, he thought, was not enough to satisfy his soul's hunger for service and sacrifice. That explains his intense religious enthusiasm and pan-Islamic ideals. Sir Muhammad has been misunderstood, but not even his enemies can accuse him of petty selfishness. He was a great man in the real sense of the term and his death has rightly been mourned by people of all classes and shades of opinion."

—*The Daily Herald*, April 25, 1938.

" As far as Muslims were concerned it can be claimed that Iqbal was the strongest living factor between Muslims of divergent views and opinions, for, Iqbal was common to them all. The late

Maulana Muhammad Ali who, for a considerable time belonged to a different political clan, used to publicly acknowledge that he had learned the true nature of Islam through Iqbal. Meetings of Muslims of different political views have begun and ended with quotations from Iqbal. One need not emphasise this point, for it speaks for itself that Muhammad Iqbal was the most prominent and towering personality among the Muslims who ever looked to him for inspiration and it is for this reason that we mourn his death to-day as if ever his services were needed for the good of his community and country, it is at this hour.

"In politics the late Sir Muhammad Iqbal contributed a realistic vision of Indian Unity and Liberty. As a poet and philosopher he believed that only social revolution and reconstruction on a gigantic scale could solve India's political and economic programme. We have in mind his illuminating presidential address at the All-India session of the Muslim League in 1930 which was a thought-provoking address, in the course of which he said: 'At the present moment the national idea is racialising the outlook of Muslims, and thus materially counteracting the humanising work of Islam. And the growth of racial consciousness may mean the growth of a standard different and even opposed to the standards of Islam I hope you will pardon me for this apparently academic discussion.

To address this session of the All-India Muslim League you have selected a man who is not despaired of Islam as a living force for freeing the outlook of man from its geographical limitations, who believes that religion is a power of the utmost importance in the life of individuals as well as states, and finally who believes that Islam is itself Destiny and will not suffer a destiny.' "—*The Star of India.*

AS THEY REMEMBER HIM

IQBAL was the foremost thinker of the Muslim world and was the greatest poet of the century. His poetry has a special message which guides the nations to splendour and glory. He led a simple life, the life of a Dervish. In contradistinction to other political thinkers, he had a wakeful and free conscience. Lying and misrepresentation were the most nefarious sins in his eyes. He never deceived any individual or nation for political ends. He never sold his personal opinion, whether wrong or right, at any price. From the very beginning, he loved a life of solitude and meditation. His door was open to all and he treated all alike.

He was a free man. His verses are full of *ma'rifat* (Real Knowledge). He believed in faith and good deeds. He was a liberal thinker and his love for Islam had nothing in it which could be termed fanaticism. His philosophy is based upon the

protection and development of the Self. To him, this life was a part of another life to which deeds opened the way.

It is true he had to take part in politics during the latter part of his life, but he was not meant for that. His personality was far above hypocrisy and conspiracy which are the two essential factors to gain success in political life.

It was perhaps at a political gathering (probably a Muslim League meeting) that he delivered a speech concerning the decay of Muslim art and literature. Towards the end of his speech, he emphasised the great necessity of setting up a library for the protection of Islamic culture and literature.

In a way, Iqbal was a poet and philosopher who gave a touch of modernism to Islam. According to his views Islam is a universal religion that covers all the possibilities of human faith and the invincible soul. The universal Islam that he wanted to establish was not a narrow circle of conservatism. It was rather a strong republic of great minds.

Sir Iqbal considered himself a citizen of the world and as such, he regarded the whole world as his native land. It is quite apparent that a small country like Kashmir with a small population of poor people does not occupy a very enviable position in the world. However, the Doctor had a sincere love for the land of his forefathers, and felt a great concern with the poor people of his

" Paradise on Earth."

Most of his early poems that were published in the literary magazines were about Kashmir and the people of Kashmir. On his return from England he worked as a secretary of the 'Kashmir Anjuman.' On behalf of the Kashmiris of the Punjab, Sir Muhammad Iqbal read an address of welcome in Persian to Nawab Sir Saleemullah Khan, the Nawab of Dacca, when the latter paid a visit to Amritsar in order to attend a meeting of the Educational Conference.

Sir Iqbal met the late Maharaja of Kashmir on one or two occasions. The Maharaja invited him as a guest. In Kashmir, the Poet could not remain unimpressed by all what he saw there. A visit to the Nishat Bagh made him sing .

شرابے کتابے ربابے نگارے

Some wine, a book, a lute and a beloved.

A walk in the Nishat Bagh made him think of the unhappy lot of the people of Kashmir:

کشبری که با بندگی خو گرفته بتے می تراشد ز سنگ مزارے
ضمیرش نہی از خیال بلندے خودی ناشناسے ز خود شرمسارے
بریشم قبا خواجه از محنت او نصیب تنش جامه تار تارے
نه در دیدهٔ او فروغ نگاهے نه در سینه او دل بیقرارے
ازاں مے فشاں قطرهٔ بر کشیری که خاکسترش آفریند شرارے

The Kashmiri who is accustomed to slavery
Carves an idol from the tomb-stone,
His mind is devoid of high thought
Ignorant of his Self and ashamed of himself.
The master wears a robe of silk as a result of his labour ;

And his body is destined to a cloth, torn to shreds.
Neither is there the light of sight in his eyes,
Nor is there a restless heart in his chest
Sprinkle a drop of that wine on the Kashmiri,
That his ashes may give birth to an ember.

Ghani was a famous poet in the time of Shah Jehan, the Mughal Emperor. The poet's greatness was recognised throughout India and Iran. He did not attend the court of the Emperor, even when he was summoned. As a rule, whenever he was inside his house, he used to close the door and whenever he went out, he left the door open Somebody asked him the reason for this, the poet remarked: "I myself am a valuable thing. If I am not at home, what is there to guard." Sir Iqbal describes the action of the poet in the following beautiful lines:—

غنی آن سخن گوی بلبل صفیر   نوا سنج کشمیر مینو نظیر
چو اندر سرا بود در بسته داشت   چو رفت از سرا خانه را وا گذاشت
یکی گفتش ای شاعر دل رسی   عجب دارد از کار تو هر کسی
به پاسخ چه خوش گفت مرد فقیر   فقیر و به اقلیم معنی امیر
ز من آنچه دیدند یاران رواست   درین خانه جز من متاعی کجاست
غنی تا نشیند به کاشانه اش   متاع گرانی است در خانه اش
چون آن محفل افروز در خانه نیست
تهی تر ازین هیچ کاشانه نیست

Ghani, that poet with the voice of a nightingale,
The bard of Kashmir..." the Paradise on Earth,"
When he was inside his house, he used to close the door,
And when he went out, he left the door open.
Someone said to him · " O heart-winning poet!
Everybody wonders at your action.'
How beautiful an answer gave the poor man

Poor man—a rich man in the domain of reality—
'What my friends have seen of me is just.
Where is a valuable thing other than myself in the house?
As long as Ghani sits in his abode,
There is a highly valuable thing in his house.
And when, that illuminator of the Assembly is not in the house,
There is no abode more empty than his.'

Iqbal wrote another poem during his visit to Kashmir which is vividly descriptive :

رخت به کاشمر کشا کوه و تل و دمن نگر
سبزه جهان جهان ببین لاله چمن چمن نگر
باد بهار موج موج مرغ بهار فوج فوج
صلصل و سار زوج زوج بر سر نارون نگر
تا نه فتد به زینتش چشم سپهر فتنه باز
بسته به چهرهٔ زمین برقع نسترن نگر
لاله ز خاک بردمید موج به آب جو تپید
خاک شرر شرر ببین آب شکن شکن نگر
زخمه به تار ساز زن باده به ساتگین بریز
قافلهٔ بهار را انجمن انجمن نگر
دخترکی برهمنی لاله رخی سمن برے
چشم بروئے او کشا باز به خویشتن نگر

Unpack in Kashmir and look at the mountain, hillocks, and meadows,
Look at the plentiful grass and the gardens of poppies,
The gentle gusts of the spring breeze and armies of spring birds
Look at the ring-dove and the starling in pairs, on the pomegranate-tree.
So that the evil eye of the sky may not fall upon its beauty—

Look, at the veil of narcissus covering the face of the earth.
The poppy sprang from the earth and the wave rolled in the stream
Look at the dust—so many embers and look at the water—so many ripples.
Strike the plectrum on the chord of the instrument and pour wine into the goblet.
Look at the caravan of Spring—in so many revelations.
A young Brahman girl—tulip-faced, fragrant as jasmine.
Open thy eyes towards her and then look upon thyself.

One day a Dervish paid a visit to Iqbal. The conversation that took place there is interesting in so far as it reveals the inner depths of Iqbal's mind. "Pious man! pray for me," said Iqbal to the Dervish. "Do you want riches?" asked the latter. "No," said Iqbal, "I am not greedy for that, I am a Dervish and God looks to my humble needs." "Do you desire honour and rank in the world then?" "No, that even I have. I do not aspire to a high rank." "Do you then wish to meet God?" enquired the Dervish. Now a peculiar brightness appeared in the eyes of the Doctor and he remarked: "To meet God? Dervish! How can I meet Him. I am a man (*banda*), He is God. The only relation that I have with Him is that of worship. Meeting. what does that mean? If I come to know that God is coming to see me, I'll run away to a distance

of twenty miles, for the simple reason that if the river meets the drop, the latter will vanish. I want to preserve my entity as a drop and do not want to efface myself. While at the same time in maintaining my position as a drop, I want to create in myself the properties of a river."

The Dervish then moved his head complacently and said, "*Wah, Iqbal Baba*! I have found you according to what I have heard of you. You know the *mashrab* yourself. You hardly need the prayer of a Dervish."

When the great philosopher sat reclining against a pillow on his bed and flew over the heights of philosophy and verse, the whole world seemed to condescend before the height of his thought. His 'humble house' was the *rendezvous* of great scholars and men of power, but, he never felt the necessity of indulging in lavish entertainment. Often, when he met eminent ambassadors of Europe and scholars of the West, he only wore a cotton vest and a *tehband*. His meals and clothes were simple. These worldly things were of no value to him as compared with his inexhaustible munificence of knowledge and thought. He was an Emperor in the domain of knowledge. What was the necessity of outward show then? He tried to create a sense of confidence in humanity by drawing the attention of the whole world to the theory of the "Perfect Man" and in regard to nature, elevated man

to celestial heights. He made the Muslims think of their past, gave them comfort in their present despair and drew the picture of a bright future in store for them.

He lit up a flame of hope in the heart of every Muslim and brought again a nation, gone astray, back to the feet of the Prophet (May we be his sacrifice !) and convinced them, that Prophets' blessings may help the Muslim to recover his past glory.

بمصطفیٰ برساں خویش را کہ دیں ہمہ اوست
اگر باو نرسیدی تمام بو لہبی است

Take thyself to Mustafa, for he is all religion
If thou didst not reach him, all is *Bulahabi*.

Iqbal had an exquisite sense of humour. His associates, often, during serious discussions were provoked to unconventional laughter. He was a patient and an industrious traveller in the dry Sahara of philosophy. He was equally conversant with Eastern and Western thought. Any important book on philosophy that was published in Europe, reached him. He had placed standing orders with the publishing companies in Berlin to send him every such book.

The late Allama's devotion to the holy Prophet was unshakeable. Whenever he gave a talk on the subject of prophethood, he would discuss at length from the point of view of modern psychology the various forms of revelation, the position of a prophet, perfect manhood, balance between sentiment and

intuition and freedom of the human ego so convincingly that even an opponent could hardly resist the force of his logic. The truth is, that reason and sentiment should go hand in hand to ensure the perfection of man. Among the philosophers, reason dominates sentiment and with the poets the case is otherwise; but, as the late Doctor was a philosopher as well as a poet, he had both the things equally present in him. Islam demands such a harmony of heart and head, so that rationalism and mysticism may not encroach upon the bounds of each other.

While returning to India from the Round Table Conference, Iqbal visited Egypt and Palestine. Later on in India, he gave a talk on the affairs of Palestine and Bait-ul-Muqaddas:

"I have carefully seen the places of worship for the Jews and the Christians. These places are underground and are so dark that it necessitates the lighting of lamps in the day-time. Just on entering therein, one feels the atmosphere so unimpressively sad and dry that the limbs are paralysed. When I came out, having seen these places of worship, I thanked God that Islam is the first religion that has ordained man to pray in the open, and in fresh air and has laid emphasis on praying in the life-giving light of the sun.

One day a certain weary and disappointed young man was sitting close to him and was bewailing his

ill-scuccess in life and complaining of his misfortune. Iqbal asked him to take courage and keep a stout heart, and said:

"The only object of human life is action. Where the Quran says that *jinn* and man were created to worship God—worship also means action. Every man is, on a small scale, a creator and to destroy these creative powers in man is a sin. The Prophet came into the world to tell the people—this is good and that is bad. Carry on your struggle without the least thought of success or ill-success."

The late Doctor never made an effort to compose poetry. Sometimes he was inactive for a whole year. Whenever he was under the influence of the 'Muse,' he composed verses prolifically. One day, he said: "Many a time it so happens that I lie in my bed, verses in perfect metrical form begin to form in my mind and then the next morning they cannot be recalled. I now keep a pencil and a piece of paper under my pillow, so that whenever I am in such a mood, I write the first word of every verse. These words help me to reproduce these verses in the morning."

One day, some students of a local college visited Iqbal. Islamic Equality was the topic of conversation. The Doctor remarked, "This is my advice to you and disseminate it among the people. It is the duty of every Muslim that the curse of caste system should at once be eradicated. Your caste is

Islam. Whenever you face the necessity of disclosing your caste, insist on the fact that you are a Muslim. It is also the duty of every Muslim that he should say his prayers in the company of an Imam of any sect, provided, he believes in the Unity of God and the finality of Prophethood. Again, it is the duty of every Muslim, be he rich or poor, to abhor idleness. He should earn his daily bread, no matter how little, with the sweat of his brow."

The late Doctor often said: "I cannot bear the idea of anything injurious, said against Islam."

The anniversaries of the Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam in those days more or less resembled "literary fairs." Maulana Nazir Ahmad, Khawaja Altaf Husain Hali, Shahzada Arshad Gorgani, Shah Sulaiman Seoharvi and other eminent orators and poets used to attend these annual gatherings, and visitors were drawn from all corners of India. Iqbal had gained for himself, in a year or two, a conspicuous place, and after his return from Europe, the glory and splendour of the Anjuman to a great extent depended on Iqbal's verses.

An admirer says: "The more I was getting closer to the Doctor, the more I was convinced of his greatness. It was surprising that in spite of his deep study of philosophy, he was so much impressed by religion, and, unless one studied him at close quarters, it was difficult to appreciate his admiration and love for Islam and the holy Prophet (Peace be upon him!).

One night, I left him peaceful and content. His pulse was hopeful, but when I felt his pulse in the morning, it was very weak. I was very much disappointed. On making enquiry, it came to be known that the Doctor had been thinking of Muslims and had been weeping bitterly during the night. He was now in a precarious condition and it was feared his heart might fail. The Doctor was fervently devoted to the Holy Quran and was in the habit of reciting it aloud since youth. While reading the Holy Quran, he seemed to be greatly impressed. The one great reason why he felt the loss of his voice was that he could not read the Holy Quran aloud. During his illness, when the Quran was read aloud, tears often welled up in his eyes."

Although the people at large knew him as a poet, he considered poetry only as a vehicle for the propagation of his thoughts. Like other poets, he did not like to be asked to recite his verses. His poetical mood was different from that of others. He once said: "For some four or five months I feel that a special energy is regenerated in me which enables me to compose verses without any effort; during this influence I attend to the domestic affairs as well, but, mostly I feel inclined towards versification. In these days, for this purpose, I have to keep awake at night." On enquiry, he added "At the most I can compose three hundred verses in a single night. After four or five months this energy is exhausted."

Iqbal was always averse to taking medicine and once he said: "A doctor's medicines (allopathic) are unhuman, because they do not appeal to the taste of the patient," and added "Medical science is an ill-success for its disregard for the Science of Life."

Some six years back, the Jamia Millia Islamia of Delhi started a series of extension lectures. These lectures had two objects: one, that the prominent men from foreign lands could be brought into contact with the students of the Jamia; the other that the students might be able to enhance their knowledge by knowing the problems and objects of life in this country

In 1931, the late Dr Ansari went to Europe. He met Gazi Raoof Bey in Paris, and requested him to visit the Jamia and to deliver a series of six lectures on the history of the Turks, the Great War and various other Islamic topics. Ghazi Raoof Bey consented and came out to India the next year. When the news of the intentions of this brave soldier reached India, the Muslims were infinitely pleased, because the Ghazi was the first president of National Assembly and the captain of the *Hamidia* during the Balkan and the Great Wars and had performed deeds of great valour which had astonished the world. Everybody acknowledged his courage and devotion to Islam.

Ghazi Raoof Bey delivered six lectures in all. Various prominent men in India were selected to

preside over these meetings. The late Dr. Iqbal was requested to preside at the fourth lecture.

Iqbal proceeded to Delhi. The staff and students of the Jamia and the citizens gathered at the railway station to welcome him. He was profusely garlanded and was escorted to the bungalow of the late Dr. Ansari in the midst of shouts of "*Allah-o-Akbar.*" In the evening the late Allama arrived at the Jamia in the company of Ghazi Raoof Bey, some 15 minutes before the meeting, and sat in a room adjoining the Hall. At the appointed time the distinguised President and the lecturer were requested to enter the Hall. Both the Ghazi and the late Allama stood up at the same time and when they came near the door, the Allama placed his hand on Raoof's shoulder and asked him to proceed, but the latter refrained and with the utmost respect implored the Allama to step forward at the same time remarking, "You are our leader (*Pir*, saint) and we, your followers (*Murid*, devotee), so you must go forward." The incident very well shows the feelings of respect that Ghazi Raoof entertained for the Poet of the East.

After the Ghazi's lecture on "Pan-Islamism and Nationalism," the Allama spoke for about two hours on the very same topic. The audience were spell-bound. He explained the necessity and importance of Pan-Islamism and then refuted the general objections raised by the Europeans. He despised

nationalism and considered it extremely injurious to human evolution. At the end he recited, for the first time, a stanza from his well-known poem *Masjid-i-Qurtaba*:

سلسلۂ روز و شب نقش گر حادثات

The following of day and night gives birth to incidents.

On another occasion, while the late Doctor was presiding at a lecture by Ghazi Raoof Bey, he delivered a short speech in the course of which he mentioned the following story:

"During the War some disciples of Satan presented themselves before him and saw him lying in an easy chair, smoking a cigar. The disciples asked him, 'How is it that you are free nowadays, Sir? Is there nothing for you to do?' Satan replied, 'I am idle nowadays and have nothing to do, for I have given charge of my work to the British Cabinet.'"

The audience were provoked to boisterous laughter.

In the evening after a short speech by the Sheikh-ul-Jamia, Hazrat Allama spoke for two hours and gave his impressions of his recent journey from London to Cordova. He also described his meeting with Bergson at Paris and how the latter was pleased to hear the Hadith: لا تسبوا الدهر (Don't speak ill of Time).

As a student, he was a precocious young man. When he appeared in the public, he was loved by all. When he was practising as a lawyer, he was looked

upon as a rival by those who were prominent in the social life of the Punjab. A very unhealthy propaganda was carried on against him and the higher quarters were constantly informed that he was a mere poet and was not going to be a success in any other walk of life. But it was due to his sterling merits and honesty in public life that he rose to such 'Himalayan' heights. It is true that he was not an ascetic youth but on the contrary paid occasional visits to restaurants. He was a man with a live heart. He sang verses and believed in the higher attributes of life. He had a powerful intellect and was respected by all.

He did not believe in going out much. Even when he received an invitation from the Governor of the Punjab to attend a party, he generally expressed his inability to do so, saying, "I am indisposed and hence can't come."

He never left his house after the sun had set. He used to say. "Wine is served there, so I avoid going out." He never attached importance to worldly grandeur and was devoted to 'Faqr'—contentment. Iqbal did not desire any kind of propaganda. Once a certain gramophone company, which had recorded his songs, wanted his photograph to be inserted in their propaganda literature. Iqbal refused to give them a photograph with the remarks, "I have a natural dislike for such things. I cannot tolerate my photograph to be

used for commercial purposes."

During the course of conversation on a certain occasion, he referred to two prominent men in the Punjab. One, he said, bowed to Satan and did everything to flatter him. The other was feared by Satan who endeavoured to make friends with him, telling him, "We both are one, let us join hands."

In 1927, when the Simon Commission visited India some prominent men of the Punjab appeared before it After Sir Muhammad Shafi and Sir Abdul Qadir had expressed their views, Sir Iqbal addressed the Commission as follows:—

"Make such a situation that Muslims may not be exploited by the Government as well as by the Hindus, if you desire the permanent safety of the British Empire. *We* are victims of two exploitations. We want protection. We have been economically weakened for the last one hundred years." On this point the Commission questioned him:

"Why do you say 'Hindu exploitation'?"

"Under the protection of the British guns," replied Iqbal.

The Doctor's criticism of Hindu politics was outspoken. He often said, "The Hindu does not want the independence of India, nor does he want to fight British Imperialism. A deep study of Hindu politics shows that whenever a Muslim is led astray from the path of Islam, the Hindu Press pays eulogistic tribute to him, saying that he is a Muslim

in the true sense, although a short timea go it was suspicious about him. When Amanullah Khan was trying to modernise his country and was trying to break away from the Islamic traditions, the Hindu Press praised him and opposed Nadir Shah. The same thing happened in the case of Mustafa Kemal. In his early days of reform, the Hindu Press was lavish in singing his praises, later, when he expressed the necessity of a political pact between the various powers of Islam, they depreciated the move.

Whenever a Muslim deviated from the path of Islam, they designated him as a 'Nationalist' and 'Progressive,' and if he looked to the interests of his people, which was his primary duty, they snubbed him as a communalist. The life events of Hasrat Mohani, the Ali Brothers, and Muhammad Ali Jinnah bear testimony to this truth. Hasrat Mohani was the first Indian Muslim who joined the Congress, when he was yet a college student at Aligarh. In those days it was not an ordinary thing to be a man of extreme views, which were more or less advocated by the Congress. As a consequence, Sir Theodore Morrison, the Principal of the M. A.-O. College forbade him to continue as a student in his College. Hasrat Mohani was also the first Indian who, in the history of the country, raised a voice for independence. In the latter period of his life when he deserted the Congress Camp, he was blamed for being a communalist. Everybody knows the great

sacrifice made by the Ali Brothers for the cause of India, but again, the Hindu Press attacked them. Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the trusted leader of the Muslims, was once a President of the Congress. He was then regarded as a Nationalist. Many a time Iqbal said that he could not trust the destinies of Indian Muslims in the hands of the Hindu leaders.

During his last days Iqbal's mind was greatly agitated by the Palestine question and the Shahid Ganj affair. As a consequence he was constantly appealing to British statesmen sympathetically to consider the Palestine situation. He was deeply wounded by the Shahid Ganj Mosque incident. Often, during this time he asked his close friends to carry his bed (he was ill) to the Shahid Ganj Mosque. "Let me be the first to be shot, so that it might contribute to Muslim unity and if by the death of a single person such unity would result, let me die" He had a keen desire to fall a martyr to the Shahid Ganj Mosque. He was not in favour of taking the appeal of the Shahid Ganj case to the Privy Council and said, "I have no more faith in British justice."

Once, a certain honest Muslim consulted the Doctor about holding a meeting of a few prominent men at his residence for collecting funds for the Shahid Gunj case. Invitations were sent to various people. Some eight or ten men assembled at his bungalow. It so happened that a certain Nawab

was also present. When Iqbal came out of his private apartment to attend the meeting, he was disappointed to see the Nawab Sahib. He quietly returned to his room with the remark: "I am sorry to find people here who have had indirectly a hand in bringing down the mosque."

He was the arch-priest of Pan-Islamism and felt deep concern for the Islamic nations in Asia. He looked upon them as different units of a bigger whole, the Muslim world, and to him their unity was of the utmost importance in the fast moving events of the world.

He visualised Islam as a great movement and he was perhaps the first Muslim in modern times to consider Islam a movement in the modern sense. He believed that it was the duty of every Muslim to help the cause of this movement in all the circles of human activity, religious, economic and political. He once expressed his views on Islam to a friend as follows, "Islam is a phase in the progress of man, and it is the final phase. It has the infinite capacity of expressing the great human possibilities, so far unrevealed.

He was greatly perturbed by the sorry plight of the Muslims of to-day, and once, when he had to give an important statement in reply to Maulana Husain Ahmad Madani, he was occupied till one o'clock in the night. He deplored the inactivity of Indian Mullas and often said, "They do not know

through what strange circumstances Islam is passing to-day and hardly know the danger that Islam is facing."

In his view, the Indian Muslims had passed through three periods during the last fifty years. The first period saw the growth of Associations. Various Anjumans were set up all over India and they vied with one another as rivals. The second period was one in which Western education was introduced with the Aligarh Movement and Muslims turned their attention to education on Western principles. As a result, the new generation was getting away from religion. The Western education brought forward a few people, but, the Muslim masses remained in the background. Religion was prominent in the third period, as it was realised that Islam required the revival of religion. During this period several 'Mujaddids' and 'Nabis' appeared. It was another blow to the solidarity of Islam.

The Poet predicted another movement: "I feel that a man will appear in the near future. He will be a man of action. He shall hold in his hands the salvation of Muslim India. A personality is needed to-day to guide the Muslims. Mustafa Kemal has brought salvation to Turkey. Mussolini has changed the destiny of Italy. In Germany Hitler has founded a new era and the person to whom I refer, it seems to me, shall spring from the soil of the Punjab."

Iqbal was a believer in the sanction of physical force. He used to say that Islam cannot live without State. It is not like a walking stick that you take with you while going out and on returning place it in the corner. He was a thorough "Pakistanian" and he always lived up to his ideals. He did not look upon the Muslim League as the high road to salvation; it was only a path in the right direction.

To-day we have the late Doctor's works and they contain all what he said, but, by his death we have lost his leadership. He was an unique man and his loss is irrecoverable.

He has left the following two verses to be inscribed on his cenotaph :—

چو رخت خویش بر بستم ازین خاک
همه گفتند با ما آشنا بود
و لیکن کس ندانست این مسافر
چه گفت و با که گفت و از کجا بود

When I packed my wardrobe from this *dust*,
All said, "He was our acquaintance"
But, nobody knew this traveller
As to what he said, to whom he said, and from where he was.

As to the writing of his biography, the Doctor once said, "There is no necessity of recording such events, as to when I graduated, or other such trivial matters. The most important thing is the exposition of my thought and the tracing of my mental conflict in the evolution of my thought."

When Iqbal entered college, his father elicited a promise from the young man: "If you happen to be successful, make use of your education for the cause of Islam." According to a statement of Iqbal, his father once asked him about his promise. The son respectfully replied: "I have constantly served the cause of Islam." Iqbal adds further that his father at a very late age began to learn Persian to be sure that his son had fulfilled his promise. His father wanted his son to devote all his talents to the cause of Islam rather than strive for personal aggrandisement.

He used to write letters to Sir Akbar Hydari, the Nawab of Bhopal, the late Sir Ross Masood, Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Justice Agha Haidar, Sir Shah Muhammad Sulaiman, Sardar Salah-ud-Din Saljuqi, the Afghan Consul-General at Delhi, His late Majesty King Nadir Shah, Sardar Muhammad Hashim Khan, the Prime Minister of Kabul, Zia-ud-Din Tabatabai, the Persian Minister, and Sardar Umrao Singh. His letters, if collected, would throw much light on his life and thought.

Iqbal was not only a poet but he was also a great power behind the curtain in the Muslim world. His was a directive force. To-day, Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah closely follows the ideals of Iqbal. Before his death, he wrote a comprehensive letter to a friend of his in which he discussed partically all the serious problems of Islam, as we face them

to-day and fully explained how to solve them. He emphasised his views on the immediate necessity of Islamic unity, and expressed his opinion on the future policy of Afghanistan and Iran. At one time he personally discussed these matters with His late Majesty King Nadir Shah. He paid a visit to Afghanistan in 1933 to advise the Afghan Government on educational affairs and drew the Shah's attention to the printing and publishing of the Holy Quran. Before Nadir's regime, Afghanistan had no special printing arrangements for the Quran and the same could be said of Iran. Thank God, the advice of Iqbal bore fruit. He also suggested that Afghanistan should put forth an immediate demand for a port on the Arabian Sea close to Karachi.

A short time before the Poet's death, Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, the Socialist leader of the Indian Congress paid a visit to Iqbal. During the discussions that they had, Iqbal put some important questions to the Pandit:

"What form of government do you want?" "Socialist, naturally," responded the Pandit. "What is the strength of your following?" asked Iqbal again, to which the Pandit replied, "Very small." "How can you expect me to sacrifice the interest of 80 millions of Muslims for a handful of people whose political outlook is as dim as the dusk?" and added, "If you desire Indian independence in all seriousness. do

you think you will be able to achieve this end without Muslim sympathies? How can you forget the vast lands that lie between Europe and India? It is perhaps the A. B. C. of politics that no nation can act without having a consideration for the nations surrounding it. Bushire, Basrah, Baghdad, Aden, Aqaba, Mukalla and Suez are all Muslim cities and lie on the grand Imperial way to India. Can you forget that Muslim co-operation for India is of the utmost value? Try to make friends with the Muslim nations of Western Asia or . . . ."

When Iqbal was on the Continent. Bergson, the French philosopher and a Nobel prize-winner, wrote a letter to Iqbal desiring to see him, saying, "If I were keeping good health I would see you personally." On his return from the Round Table Conference, Iqbal paid a visit to Bergson and notwithstanding the fact that the latter was suffering from paralysis, he scrambled on to his knees at the sight of Iqbal. S. Umrao Singh, we are told, was present there and a highly philosophical discussion took place between the two illustrious philosophers. We learn that at this meeting, Iqbal recited the well-known saying ascribed to Kh. Muin-ud-Din Chishti.

لي مع الله وقت لا يسعنى فيه ملك مقرب . . . .

"I have a time with God when even the nearest angel dare not approach," by which the Doctor referred to the extremely close contact he had with the ultimate Truth, as a poet-philosopher.

In England, Iqbal was once approached by a woman for his autograph. He quietly wrote a saying of the holy Prophet:

"I love perfume, women (gentility) and prayer." The innocent woman was surprised and asked Iqbal if Islam had a belief in the soul of woman. Iqbal replied, "Not only the belief that woman has a soul, but Islam is also the greatest defender of the cause of womanhood."

Iqbal was in unique man with a peculiar brightness in his eyes. Even his closest friends could not stare him in the face in his moods of glory. His glance was piercing, and there was a peculiar light in his eyes which inspired awe.

Iqbal held the familiar belief of the Teutonic races in the Superman. He often said: "A strong personality can change the destiny of a nation." He was one of this type. He once remarked that he had benefited little by his vast learning, Eastern and Western, but he had derived immense benefit from درود و صلوات بر پیمبر--invocation to the Prophet,

He very hastily read the books which he received from all over the world, yet his penetrating eye picked all that was important. European politics and the problems of the Muslim world were the two important things that occupied his attention.

A few months before his death he had employed a German lady to look after his children Javid and Munira. She is a very capable and dutiful lady.

The reason for her engagement was that the children had lost their mother. She looks after the interests of the children and is particular about their *Namaz* (prayer).

While staying with the Mufti of Bait-ul-Muqaddas on his way to London, he made up his mind to pay a visit to the Holy Prophet's Mausoleum. At about 8 o'clock in the night, the Mufti was informed of his decision. He made all the arrangements for the Allama's journey to Medina. At about 10 o'clock the same night, he changed his mind and told Ghulam Rasul Mihr that he had dropped the idea. Mihr Sahib was extremely aggrieved to hear this. Iqbal explained the matter saying, " It is not right for me to visit the Holy Prophet's grave while I am on my way to London, I will return to India and if *he* calls me I will come, *Insha-allah.*" During the same night Iqbal wrote his beautiful poem *Zauq-o-Shauq*. In his view the position of the Prophet was that of a mother to the *Ummat* who protects her child against heat and cold, pressing it to her bosom and thus preventing any harm befalling it.

He was cruelly blunt and a plain speaker. He talked to all his friends alike. Those who were not acquainted with him could not understand his plain-spokenness. The following anecdote illustrates this fact. Once a young man, the son of a prominent man of Lucknow, paid a visit to Iqbal. He was a student of philosophy and as such, he was a

rationalist. His conversation smacked of atheism. The Doctor resented his conversation and asked him as a favour to disencumber the room with his presence and not to return.

Once Pir Jamaat Ali Shah and his associates came to see Iqbal. Some of the Nawabs and prominent people were also present. The Pir said, "I want to have a private talk with you, Iqbal." "We are alone," replied Iqbal. "But yet there are some people who carry news . . . . ." A certain person from among the company asked Iqbal as to whom he was referring, and the poet replied, "You are one"

Like many of the late Doctor's friends, Sir Akbar Hydari suggested to Iqbal to go to Europe for expert medical treatment. In a moving letter written to him Iqbal stated that he had finished his work and he did not feel the necessity of going to Vienna. The time of his departure, he said, was at hand

Javid, the younger son of Iqbal, once picked up a quarrel with a comrade. The boy took the complaint to the late Doctor. Javid was summoned and reprimanded. "If you go against the tenets of religion, you are no longer my son Try to be just to your friends and protect their rights."

Two days before his death he was unable to go through his usual routine. He quietly remarked, "I have sinned against time."

He was not favourably disposed to Western civilization, because it is costly and India is a poor

country and can ill-afford to adopt it.

Iqbal did not believe in the institution of poetical apprenticeship. He recognised it in his younger days. As a scholar of Persian, he waded through the Persian books of literature under the guidance of an eminent scholar Allama Mir Hasan. The poet was a great conversationalist, he could talk for hours. All listened to him quietly and if the necessity arose, a question could be asked.

The mango was the Doctor's favourite fruit. He, on several occasions, entertained his friends at a mango party. He used to say that although the grape was the highest stage in the realm of fruits, the mango went a step further.

During his last days, he could not take any food himself, but it was a great pleasure for him to see his friends eat. A few days before his death, he had his friends served with ice-cream, which had been prepared by the German governess who was also in charge of the kitchen.

He never allowed political differences to stand between himself and his friends. In the political arena he had to come across strange men. He was a *wijdani* (Intuitive) himself. As such he was extremely sensitive everywhere and at all times.

A short time before his death, he had set his mind on writing a book—*Introduction to the Study of the Quran*, for which he had requisitioned the help of the Rector of Al-Azhar University. He dictated

only a few preliminary notes.

The late Doctor once said that after *Armughan-i-Hejaz*, he had a mind to write another book which he would name *Sur-i-Israfil*. He proposed to make it his last work and it was to eclipse all his other works.

Only a few of his works have been so far translated into English. Like all artists he was jealous of his works being translated into other languages. He feared misrepresentation of his thought.

PART II

THE POETICAL WORKS OF IQBAL



حضرت اقبال رحمة اللهٰ علیه

گمان مبر که به پایان رسید [illegible]
هزار بادهٔ ناخورده در رگ تاک است

[illegible] ز [illegible]
[illegible] ز دم صبا چاک است

[illegible] آدم خاکی [illegible]
[illegible] حیرت [illegible] پاک است

[illegible] ز [illegible] گیرد
شرر [illegible] جلوه [illegible] کف خاک است

نوا زدیم [illegible] و لاله [illegible]
ز شاخ زندگی ما [illegible] خاک است

[illegible] خلوت دوست
[illegible] نفسی بی‌باک است

ببین چمن که سرود است و این نوا ز کجاست
ز نغمه‌ام به گریبان [illegible] چاک است

اقبال

THE POETICAL WORKS OF IQBAL

THE POET'S WORKS

COUNTLESS poetical works have been preserved by humanity that have not been of constructive value in the development of the human mind, but, antiquity has imparted to them a sacredness and their appeal to our emotions is the sole cause of their survival—a respository of unscientific thought. Such books of mythology and fiction are numerous.

Iqbal was conscious of such a reality. It is strange that he did not have a very high opinion of the poetical expression but only adopted it as an effective means to move the hearts of his readers.

Iqbal was a genius. Nature made a poet of him and, as such, his genius had a fair scope to shine and in the course of time when it reached perfection, it did really outshine the brightest stars in the firmament of poetry

The domestic atmosphere in which the poet was born and bred made him religious-minded and the influence lasted all through his life and deeply coloured his thought. Born as he was in

a house typically Eastern, he was an Easterner and loved the people and civilization of the East and had a great regard for Asiatic culture. Above all the poet was a Muslim, brought up in the strongly religious traditions of Islam and as such held religion in high esteem. But with a background of Oriental culture and thought, he was educated on Western principles, under the patronage of such famous scholars as Arnold and McTaggart. He himself was a studious scholar, and thus was enabled to have a broader vision of things. As a student of Philosophy he always penetrated into the fundamental governing secrets of the Universe, made an expert study of human nature and took note of all their problems—social, and political. As he was an Indian Muslim he felt a great concern for his native land and its hydra-headed problems. He wished to see his country free from foreign domination, but as a Muslim, he painfully viewed the awful contrast between the great past and the deplorable present. His interest was not confined to the Indian soil but extended all over the Muslim World; Egypt, Turkey and Persia equally occupied his attention. During his life, he was not for a single moment forgetful of the fact that Islam was passing through critical times.

Iqbal spent his life writing poetry. 'High thinking and simple living' was the guiding principle of his life. In the intervals between his professional

work he devoted his attention to poetry ; such a man was wanted in India. The nation had deteriorated ; society had morally gone bankrupt and character had almost lost its meaning. Iqbal sang to the nation telling it to " wake up, or else die in sleep." For the uplift of the dejected nation, he based his teachings on the realisation of the Self and aimed at the reconstruction of universal thought and society.

The poet's labour as a thinker must have been very exacting for, after all, such a high standard of poetry as his is not a work that can be finished overnight. The acute mental efforts of the poet must have involved a terrific drain on his energy.

Iqbal was not a voluminous writer. As a principle, he believed in art to be constructive. Accordingly, his works contain polished and chosen thoughts, the result of keen thinking and creative power For the criticism of art with all the different criteria that are applied, it is essential to note that an artist's success depends primarily upon his presentation of what he aims at. If he has successfully conveyed his idea, his success as an artist is assured. Yet he has to respect the unwritten word of the moral code that an artist's work should be constructive. From this point of view, the works of Iqbal are masterpieces of Urdu and Persian poetry, and it is no exaggeration that contemporary literature in India hardly presents a parallel.

Before proceeding to Europe, he wrote nature

poems with a peculiar conflict of thought. The poet's mind was then in the process of evolution. Some of the poems were simple; most of them were written for children after the style of Western poets. Some of these poems reflect a deep colour of nationalism. During this period the poet earned sufficient popularity on the Anjuman's platform by reciting poems of Islamic interest.

While the poet was in England he did not write much, but, all that he wrote reflected deep thoughts. The poet was conscious of his vocation and was philosophising in the midst of busy European life. Even there he is a true Asiatic, but he is not happy. The poet's visit to Europe and his study in Islamic literature and thought inspired him with a greater love for Islam. He prepared to return to his native land and wrote to his friends saying: "Arise and light up the Assembly by your fiery speech, as darkness has covered the horizon of the East."

On his return from England, his writings contained a predominantly Islamic tinge. Although he wrote stirring poems in connection with the Tripoli War and other popular poems for the Anjuman platform, he now turned his attention to Persian poetry and published his renowned poems *Asrar-i-Khudi* in 1915 and *Rumuz-i-Bekhudi* later. The former has been translated into English and has been greatly apprecitated both in the East and

in the West. After *Asrar-o-Rumuz*, the poet busied himself with the preparation of *Piam-i-Mashriq* in response to the *Diwan* of the German poet, Goethe. The *Piam* was published in 1922, and the same year, the poet published his collection of Urdu poems *Bang-i-Dara*. The *Piam* was followed by *Zabur-i-Ajam* and *Javid Nama* (both in Persian). Now the poet began to write in Urdu again and published, first *Bal-i-Jibril* and then *Zarb-i-Kalim*. In these days he also wrote two Persian peoms: *Musafir* and *Pas Chih Bayad Kard*. *Armughan-i-Hejaz* is a posthumous collection of his poems.

The facts of Iqbal's life may be gathered from his biography, but, a closer study of his works is necessary to understand the poet's mind.

IQBAL AND FOREIGN SCHOLARS

IQBAL'S fame as a poet-philosopher won the hearts of many prominent scholars, philosophers and poets of all nationalities. The following brief description of the translations of his works into different languages throws light on the universal popularity of the poet, in the Muslim world--

Husain Danish, a Turkish scholar, translated several poems of Iqbal into Turkish and wrote an elaborate review on *Piam-i-Mashriq*. This fact was disclosed by Dr. Taufiq Bey, member of the Red

Crescent Delegation. Dr. Taufiq added that hardly any scholar other than Husain Danish would have explained the views of Iqbal so explicitly. One day Taufiq remarked that if Dr Iqbal were to pay a visit to Constantinople, he would have been accorded a royal welcome.

Agha Hadi Hasan who was formerly an Afghan ambassador, wrote a series of articles on *Piam-i-Mashriq* which were published in several journals.

Ahmad Rif'at is a famous Egyptian traveller, who has travelled all over the Islamic lands. During his travels he stopped at Simla and Lahore. He translated many poems of Iqbal into Arabic and these translations were published in one of Egypt's foremost daily papers, *Al-Ahram*.

Maulvi Abdul Haq Haqqi of Baghdad, a former professor of the Aligarh Muslim University, translated Iqbal's widely-sung poem *Tarana* into Arabic. This translation appeared in several Egyptian papers.

In Europe and America—

Dr. Nicholson professor of Cambridge University rendered *Asrar-i-Khudi* into English and wrote a learned review on *Piam-i-Mashriq* in the *Islamica* (Germany). The translation of this review appeared in the *Nairang-i-Khiyal* of Lahore ('Id Number, 1925).

The late Professor Browne, wrote a review on the English translation of *Asrar-i-Khudi*, which appeared in the journal of the Royal Asiatic Society

in 1921. Professor Browne also referred to Iqbal's works in connection with Shihab-ud-Din Suhrawardi, in the fourth volume of his monumental work, *The Literary History of Persia.*

Deutsche Russu translated the Introduction of *Piam-i-Mashriq* into German and explained its aims and objects.

Dr. Ficher of the Leipzig University and Editor of the *Islamica* wrote a comprehensive review on *Piam-i-Mashriq* and compared Iqbal to Goethe.

The German Orientalist Dr. Hans Maenge, who is a famous poet, welcomed *Piam-i-Mashriq* with great admiration, and he translated a certain portion of this work, writing it on parchment with Oriental paintings and sent it to Dr. Iqbal as a present.

In Germany, a society has been founded after the name of Iqbal, the object of which is the dissemination of Iqbal's teachings and poetry.

Dr. Scaria, a famous Italian scholar, who paid a visit to Afghanistan some years ago, published a critical article on Iqbal.

Some years ago, a book on Indian literature was published in Germany. The collection contains selections of Indian poetry. Five poems of Iqbal are incorporated therein.

A Russian scholar who had travelled all over India, visited Lahore only to see Iqbal. He wrote a comprehensive review on *Asrar-i-Khudi* in Russian.

Mr. Forrester reviewed the English translation of

Asrar-i-Khudi in the *Athenium* of 1921, examining the poet's teachings as a national reformer. Its translation has also been published in *Ma'arif*.

There is a chapter under the caption "The Dawn of Modern Literature," in a book called *India's Awakening* by Mackenzie, wherein appears a descriptive note on Iqbal from the pen of Sardar Sir Jogindra Singh. The book was published in America in 1927.

BANG-I-DARA

The Cry of the Bell

BANG-I-DARA is a collection of Iqbal's Urdu poems which was published for the first time in 1924 and has since rapidly passed through print many times.

The work is divided into three parts. The first part contains the poems written upto the year 1905. This was the time before the poet left India for England. The second part contains poems written between 1905 and 1908—the period of the poet's stay in England. The third part includes the poems written after his return to India in 1908. The book opens with a comprehensive Introduction by Sh. Sir Abdul Qadir, Bar.-at-Law, formerly Editor of the *Makhzan*. Sir Abdul Qadir, being a friend of Iqbal, gives a short biographical sketch of the poet and briefly describes the various stages through which

the poet's mind passed. He maintains that there is no book of Urdu verse which can be compared with *Bang-i-Dara*, for the simple reason that the work is the result of vast study, experience, observation and travel.

Before undertaking an appreciation and criticism of his works, it is essential to know that the mind of a poet has to pass through various stages of development before it can attain perfection in the realms of expression and thought. The growth of the mind can be compared to the growth of a plant. Apart from hereditary potentialities, the soil must be fertile and then the seed requires adequate watering and a congenial atmosphere. All these things taken together insure the healthy growth of the plant. The study of the development of poetic thought is, therefore, very necessary to understand the poet's mind.

Environment is the first obstacle that man has to encounter, and since a poet possesses a sensitive temperament, he feels its influence all the more. Nature is a real book of study for man. A poet cannot, therefore, but make observations and collect vast data for inference.

In his early days of poetical practice, besides *Ghazals* (love poems), Iqbal was given to serious thinking. Natural phenomena and world events were the first things that influenced him. The problems of life and this world made him think till he had drawn some reasonable conclusions

which were eventually presented as philosophic truths. The woeful tale of the fall of the Mughal Empire and the sad condition of Indian Muslims and the general decline of Islamic nations occupied his mind. He gave voice to his feelings in the form of poems aiming at the revival of Islam and the reconstruction of Islamic society. The poet's love for his country found expression in many nationalistic poems, but, after his visit to England there was a material change in his views. He now became a citizen of the world. Every country was his native land, and he believed in humanity.

As might be naturally expected, the earlier poems of *Bang-i-Dara* are comparatively simple and the metre is common. The first part contains a large number of nature poems with the visible influence of literature and poetic ideology of Europe, and they remind the reader of William Cowper, Wordsworth, Keats and Shelley.

The second part of *Bang-i-Dara* presents the poetry of a transitional period. The language is more expressive and the philosophic element has increased. The poems in the third part show a growing concern for Islam and its history. His expression seems to have attained maturity and the language abounds in Persian phrases and constructions. It should be remembered that most of Iqbal's verse written contemporaneously with the third part of the *Bang* is in Persian.

Bang-i-Dara opens with *Himala* (Ode to the

Himalayas) which was published in the first number of the first volume of *Makhzan* in 1901 and was recited previously at a *Musha'ara*. *Himala* is one of the popular poems of Iqbal and is a lasting monument to the height and grandeur of the Himalayas. As a naturalist, the poet looks upon the quiet recesses of the mountains, the serene flight of the clouds and the beauty of life ,' intoxicated ' buds and babbling streams are the objects of interest. The poet is legitimately proud of the " Grand Rampart " of India.

اے ھمالہ ! اے فصیل کشور ھندوستان !
چومتا ھے تیری پیشانی کو جھک کر آسماں

The poet addresses the mountains as the rampart of the Indian realm whose forehead is kissed by the sky. " *Thou* dost not exhibit any signs of old age. *Thou* art ever young amid the alternation of morning and evening." The quiet Himalayan valleys divert a man's attention to himself.

سوۓ خلوت گاہ دل دامن کش انسان ھے تو

This is perhaps the poet's first step to the Self and the beauty of nature is his first attention and to him it is a constant source of similes

جنبش موج نسیم صبح گہوارہ بنی
جھومتی ھے نشۂ ھستی میں ھر گل کی کلی
یوں زبان برگ سے گویا ھے اسکی خامشی
دست گلچیں کی جھٹک میں نے نہیں دیکھی کبھی

The wave-like motion of the morning zephyr is turned into a cradle.

Every bud is rocked in the intoxication of Existence,
So speaks its silence with the tongue of a petal,
"I have never experienced the jerk of the flower-gatherer."

آتی ہے ندی فراز کوہ سے گاتی ہوئی
کوثر و تسنیم کی موجوں کو شرماتی ہوئی
آئینہ سا شاہد قدرت کو دکھلاتی ہوئی
سنگ رہ سے گاہ بچتی گاہ ٹکراتی ہوئی
چھیڑتی جا اس عراق دلنشیں کے ساز کو
اے مسافر دل سمجھتا ہے تری آواز کو

The stream comes down the hill-side, singing
Giving *Kausar* and *Tasnim* a cause for shame,
Holding a mirror to the Beloved of Nature.
Sometimes, deflecting itself from the stone in its way and sometimes striking against it,
Play on this instrument of charming *Iraq*,
O traveller! the heart follows thy voice.

In daily life, the poet had to overcome many obstacles. He sees a flower and says:

تو شناسائے خراش عقدہ مشکل نہیں
اے گل رنگیں ترے پہلو میں شاید دل نہیں

Thou art not *familiar* with the pangs of a knotty problem,
O picturesque flower! perhaps, thou hast not a heart in thee

Abr-i-Kohsar is a beautiful nature poem:

ہے بلندی سے فلک بوس نشیمن میرا
ابر کہسار ہوں گل پاش ہے دامن میرا
کبھی صحرا کبھی گلزار ہے مسکن میرا
شہر و ویرانہ مرا بحر مرا بن میرا
کسی وادی میں جو منظور ہو سونا مجھکو
سبزۂ کوہ ہے مخمل کا بچھونا مجھکو

My cottage kisses the sky, because of its height.
I am the mountain cloud ; my skirt sprinkles flowers,
My abode is sometimes a Sahara and sometimes a garden,
The city and the ruins are mine and so are the sea and the woods.
If I have a mind to sleep in a valley,
The mountain green is a couch of velvet for me.

بن کے گیسو رخ ہستی پہ بکھر جاتا ہوں
شانۂ موجۂ صرصر سے سنور جاتا ہوں

I, like a lock of hair, cover the face of Existence,
I become arrayed with the comb of a gust of violent wind.

Prinde-ki-Faryad is another beautiful poem for children. The poet speaks the captive bird's mind :

آتا ہے یاد مجھکو گزرا ہوا زمانہ
وہ باغ کی بہاریں وہ سب کا چہچہانا

I remember my past days,
Those happy moments (springs) in gardens and the chirpings in chorus.

The poet's constant concern for his country is visible in these lines .

کیا بد نصیب ہوں میں گھر کو ترس رہا ہوں
ساتھی تو ہیں وطن میں-میں قید میں پڑا ہوں

How unfortunate, I am longing for my home !
My comrades are there and I am in captivity

"An Enquiry from Those Who Sleep in the Dust" is a poem full of pathos. The sun has set; the veil over the face of Evening is lifted and her locks are scattered on the shoulders of Existence. Silence is all around. The heart of

the poet is fleeing from the world on account of his impatience. He sits close to those who sleep in the lonely corner and implores his heart to be patient:

تھم ذرا بیتابیٔ دل! بیٹھ جانے دے مجھے
اور اس بستی پہ چار آنسو گرانے دے مجھے

Wait a little, O impatient heart! Let me sit down
And shed a few tears on this Inhabitation(of the dead).

The poet asks those "intoxicated with the wine of forgetfulness," to tell him something of the other world. To him this world is a house of wonder where a constant battle of elements is going on. He puts them various questions as to whether Paradise is an abode of peace; whether hell is a place to burn the sinful.

The last question that he asks them is one that had been agitating his mind for a long time:

تم بتا دو راز جو اس گنبد گرداں میں ہے
موت اک چبھتا ہوا کانٹا دل انساں میں ہے

Tell ye, the secret that is in this revolving Dome
Death is the pricking thorn in the heart of man.

The little moth that finds peace in flying round the candle and which eventually sacrifices itself to the flame is a wonderful sight for the poet who exclaims:

پروانہ اور ذوق تماشائے روشنی! کیڑا ذرا سا اور تمنائے روشنی!

A moth, and what a yearning for the sight of light!
A tiny insect, and its consuming desire for light!

One constant cause of pain to the poet is the disunity among the Indian peoples. He raises his

voice in grief:

جل رھا ھوں کل نہیں پڑتی کسی پہلو مجھے
ھاں ڈبو دے اے محیط آب گنگا تو مجھے

I am aflame with restlessness I find no peace on any side,
Yes, flow over me, O waters of the Ganges!

بزم جہاں میں میں بھی ھوں اے شمع! درد مند
فریاد در گرہ صفت دانۂ سپند

O candle! I am also a sufferer in this assemblage of the world—
With a grievous 'complaint in my knot,' like a rue-seed

He gives the reason for his personal consciousness:

دے آگہی مری مجھے رکھتی ھے بیقرار
خوابیدہ اس شرر میں ھیں آتشکدے ھزار

This consciousness of mine makes me restless
There are a thousand furnaces dormant in this spark (of life).

The poet's ever-increasing love for solitude leads him to the quiet regions of life. He shuns society and desires to lead a calm life in a small hut on the mountains, singing in the morning in the company of a cuckoo. The window of the hut would show him the dawn, thus enabling him to be no longer under an obligation to a temple or mosque. In this silence the poet's cries would rise so high that his voice might serve as a bell to the "caravan of stars". With such imagination the poet expresses 'A Wish':

دنیا کی محفلوں سے اُکتا گیا ہوں یا رب
کیا لطف انجمن کا جب دل ہی بجھ گیا ہو

O God! I am tired of the Assemblies of the world
What is the pleasure in society, if (the candle of) the heart is extingushed?

The poet is not satisfied with the light that *lights* up the outward appearance. Addressing the 'morning sun' he says:

ڈھونڈتی ہیں جس کو آنکھیں وہ تماشا چاہئے
چشم باطن جس سے کھل جائے وہ جلوہ چاہئے

The sight which is sought by my eyes is wanted
The light that opens the *inner* eye is wanted.

A 'Withered Flower' is a touching sight to the poet:

کس زباں سے اے گل پژمردہ تجھ کو گل کہوں؟
کس طرح تجھ کو تمنائے دل بلبل کہوں

O withered flower! how shall I call thee a flower?
How can I say that thou art the desire of a nightingale?

Among the manifestations of nature, the new moon on the western horizon is a vision of rare beauty to him. Iqbal draws a vivid picture:

ٹوٹ کر خورشید کی کشتی ہوئی غرقاب نیل
ایک ٹکڑا تیرتا پھرتا ہے روئے آب نیل
طشت گردوں میں ٹپکتا ہے شفق کا خون ناب
نشتر قدرت نے کیا کھولی ہے فصد آفتاب؟
چرخ نے بالی چرا لی ہے عروس شام کی
نیل کے پانی میں یا مچھلی ہے سیم خام کی

The boat of the sun, being wrecked sank in the Nile.
A plank is floating on the waters of the Nile,
The pure blood of Twilight is trickling into the basin of the sky,

Has the lancet of nature opened the vein of the Sun ?
Either the sky has stolen the ear-ring of the Bride of Evening,
Or there is a *fish* of pure silver in the water of the Nile.

It is strange to note that Iqbal was very much misunderstood in his own days. He describes a pleasing story of a Maulvi Sahib under the title of *Zuhd Aur Rindi.* The poem is as simple as it is beautiful. The metre is equally appropriate and the rhymes are extremely rhythmic. The poem opens :

اک مولوی صاحب کی سناتا ہوں کہانی
تیزی نہیں منظور طبیعت کی دکھانی

I tell you a story of a Maulvi Sahib,
I do not desire to demonstrate the sharpness of my intelligence.

مدت سے رہا کرتے تھے ہمسائے میں میرے
تھی رند سے زاہد کی ملاقات پرانی

He used to reside in my neighbourhood for a long time,
The Rind had an old acquaintance with the (ascetic) Zahid

The Maulvi Sahib had heard a good deal about Iqbal and knew him to be a 'collection of opposites' familiar both with Rindi and Shari'at. He could not comprehend the real nature of Iqbal. One day the Maulvi Sahib met Iqbal and the latter with humble submission said.

کہ آپ کو معلوم نہیں میری حقیقت
پیدا نہیں کچھ اس سے قصور ہمہ دانی

میں خود بھی نہیں اپنی حقیقت کا شناسا
گہرا ہے مرے بحر خیالات کا پانی
مجھ کو بھی تمنا ہے کہ اقبال کو دیکھوں
کی اس کی جدائی میں بہت اشک فشانی
اقبال بھی اقبال سے آگاہ نہیں ہے
کچھ اس میں تمسخر نہیں-واللہ نہیں ہے

If you are not conversant with my reality,
It does not cast any reflection on your omniscience,
I myself do not know my reality,
The water of the ocean of my thoughts is deep,
I too have a desire to see Iqbal ;
I have shed tears for a long time in separation
Even Iqbal is not familiar with Iqbal,
This is no joke, by God it is not !

The poet protests against the narrowness of circumstances and desires a wider sphere of activity. So says the ' Wave of the River ':

زحمت تنگیٔ دریا سے گریزاں ہوں میں
وسعت بحر کی فرقت میں پریشاں ہوں میں

I run away from the pressing confines of the river,
I am dejected in separation from the vastness of the sea

An endless search for reality is the essence of his life :

ہے جنوں مجھ کو کہ گھبراتا ہوں آبادی میں میں
ڈھونڈتا پھرتا ہوں کس کو کوہ کی وادی میں میں

I have an obsession—I feel lost in populated spaces
Whom am I looking for in the valley of the mountain ?

The poet compares himself to a child :

میری آنکھوں کو لبھا لیتا ہے حسن ظاہری
کم نہیں کچھ تیری نادانی سے نادانی مری

The outward beauty pleases my eyes,
My ignorance is no less than thine.

Taswir-i-Dard is one of the longer poems of Iqbal, such as *Shikwah*, *Jawab-i-Shikwah*, *Khizr-i-Rah* and *Tulu'-i-Islam*. In length, these poems remind the reader of Milton's poems L' Allegro and Il Penseroso, but the subject and thought are different.

Taswir-i-Dard was read at an Anjuman meeting in March 1904. The poem presents the national sentiments of the poet who feels a deep concern for the fate of his native-land The poem occupies a high position in national literature and is an appeal for unity among the people of India. The beauty of words and colourful expression of feelings are remarkable.

"Pain" or "distress" is the subject of the poem. It is written to give expression to "sorrow".

نهیں منت کش تاب شنیدن داستاں میری
خموشی گفتگو هے' بے زبانی هے زباں میری

My story does not impose the obligation of being heard with patience,
Silence is my speech and muteness my tongue

The right of free speech is denied in the Assembly and the tale is told by the scattered petals of the tulip, narcissus and the rose. The poet weeps and feels he is weeping for the "garden" and says: "I am a flower, and the autumn of every flower is my autumn." The people are ignorant about him and he considers himself to be a treasure hidden under a handful of dust. "Who knows where I am and

whose wealth I am ? and cries aloud:

رلاتا ہے ترا نظارہ اے ہندوستان مجھکو
کہ عبرت‌خیز ہے تیرا فسانہ سب فسانوں میں

O India ! Thy sight makes me weep,
Of all stories, thine is an admonitory one.

And warns his country men:

چھپا کر آستیں میں بجلیاں رکھیں ہیں گردوں نے
عنادل باغ کے غافل نہ بیٹھیں آشیانوں میں

The sky has lightning hidden in its sleeve,
The nightingales of this garden should not repose carefree in their nests.

وطن کی فکر کر ناداں ! مصیبت انے والی ہے
تری بربادیوں کے مشورے ہیں آسمانوں میں

Ignorant fellow ! Think of thy country, a calamity is about to appear,
Consultations are being made in the skies about thy destruction.

A pathetic *ghazal* is included in *Taswir-i-Dard* with the opening line :

ہویدا آج اپنے زخم پنہاں کر کے چھوڑوں گا
لہو رو روکے محفل کو گلستاں کرکے چھوڑوں گا

To-day, I shall lav bare my hidden wounds,
I shall shed tears of blood and make the Assembly a garden.

Iqbal aims at lighting up every candle with his burning heart and strives to unite the scattered "beads of the rosary" (his country-men). The short-sighted Indian is advised to free himself from all bias. The eye should be made to see reality:

اگر دیکھا بھی اس نے سارے عالم کو تو کیا دیکھا
نظر آئی نہ کچھ اپنی حقیقت جام سے جم کو

And even if he saw the whole world, what did he see?
Jamshid could not see his own reality in the Cup.

The poet cannot restrain his tears:

تھمے کیا دیدۂ گریاں وطن کی نوحہ خوانی میں
عبادت چشم شاعر کی ہے ہر دم با وضو رہنا

How can the weeping eye cease mourning for the native land,
The worship of a poet's eye is to remain washed with tears every moment.

Love is the binding force of humanity:

شراب روح پرور ہے محبت نوع انساں کی
سکھایا اس نے مجھکو مست بے جام و سبو رہنا

The love of humanity is a soul-nourishing wine,
It has taught me to remain intoxicated without a cup and a vat.

The poet is striving for the realisation of truth. He thinks that change takes man through different regions of knowledge, till he passes from external appearance to his own self, and the first exodus being:

لگی نہ میری طبیعت ریاض جنت میں
پیا شعور کا جب جام آتشیں میں نے

I could not find solace in the garden of Paradise,
When I drank the fiery cup of consciousness.

ہوئی جو چشم مظاہر پرست وا آخر
تو پایا خانۂ دل میں اسے مکیں میں نے

--The secret of Existence could not be known,
When the surface-worshipper's eye was opened at last,
He was found resting in the house of my heart.

Iqbal is a sincere lover of his country and has written some of the best national poems. *Tarana-i-Hindi* (The Indian National Anthem) is one of them

and has gained wide popularity among the people of all classes in India. It opens with the beautiful lines:

سارے جہان سے اچھا ہندوستان ہمارا
ہم بلبلیں ہیں اس کی یہ گلستان ہمارا

Best of all the world is our land—India
We are it's nightingales and it is our garden.

غربت میں ہوں اگر ہم، رہتا ہے دل وطن میں
سمجھو وہیں ہمیں بھی دل ہو جہاں ہمارا

If we are away, our heart is in our native-land,
Think of us to be in that place, where our heart is.

The study and observation of nature are slowly bringing to light the universal secrets. The glow-worm is a fascinating object for his poetic perception:

جگنو کی روشنی ہے کاشانۂ چمن میں
یا شمع جل رہی ہے پھولوں کی انجمن میں

Is that the light of the glow-worm in the garden?
Or, is it a candle burning in the Assembly of flowers?

The poet is now able to grasp one reality and strives for another:

کثرت میں ہو گیا ہے وحدت کا راز مخفی
جگنو میں جو چمک ہے، وہ پھول میں مہک ہے
یہ اختلاف پھر کیوں ہنگاموں کا محل ہو؟
ہر شے میں جب کہ پنہاں خاموشیٔ ازل ہو

The secret of Unity has been shrouded in various ways,
That which is light in the glow-worm, is perfume in the flower
Why then this difference should be the seat of commotion,
When there is the Eternal Silence hidden in everything?

Humanity has always longed for an eternal life and various sacrifices are made to achieve that end.

No one on this Earth is pleased with his existence. There is always an aspiration for an ideal, something higher, which leads us through sacrifice to a better life. Iqbal's صبح کا ستارہ illustrates this aspect of life :

میری قدرت میں جو هوتا تو نه اختر بنتا
قعر دریا میں چمکتا هؤا گوهر بنتا

If I had the power, I would not have been a star,
I would rather have been a bright pearl in the depths
of the sea

But all things end in disaster :

هے یه انجام اگر زینت عالم هوکر
کیوں نه گر جاؤں کسی پهول په شبنم هوکر

And if this is the end, after being something beautiful
in this world,
Why should not I fall on a flower in the form of dew ?

—or become a tear and fall from the eye of a soldier's wife at the time of bidding farewell to her husband, departing to the battle-field :

خاک میں مل کے حیات ابدی پاجاؤں
عشق کا سوز زمانے کو دکهاتا جاؤں

Being mixed with the dust, I may attain eternal life,
And show to the world the fire (intensity) of love.

Among the national songs of Iqbal, 'Indian Children's National Song' deserves praise. The opening stanza is daily sung in many schools ·

چشتی نے جس زمیں میں پیغام حق سنایا
نانک نے جس چمن میں وحدت کا گیت گایا
تاتاریوں نے جس کو اپنا وطن بنایا
جس نے حجازیوں سے دشت عرب چهڑایا
میرا وطن وهی هے میرا وطن وهی هے

The land in which Chishti disseminated the message of God,
The garden—in which Nanak sang the song of Unity
——Which the Tartars adopted as their native-land
——Which made the people of Hejaz leave the desert of Arabia,

That is my native land, that is my native land.

In the prevailing conditions of India when communal relations were strained and mutual toleration was badly wanted, Iqbal thought of establishing a new temple of worship for the Hindus and Muslims alike. He makes an appeal to the Brahman for the erection of a نیا شوالہ :—

سچ کہہ دوں اے برہمن گر تو برا نہ مانے
تیرے صنم کدوں کے بت ہوگئے پرانے
تنگ آکے میں نے آخر دیر و حرم کو چھوڑا
واعظ کا وعظ چھوڑا چھوڑے ترے فسانے
سونی پڑی ہوئی ہے مدت سے دل کی بستی
آ اک نیا شوالہ اس دیس میں بنادیں

I would speak the truth, O Brahman! if thou dost not take it amiss—
The idols of thy temples have become old.
I, eventually, left the temple and the mosque, disgusted;
I refrained from listening to the sermon of the preacher and to thy stories.
The abode of the heart is deserted.
Come, and let's raise a new temple in this land.

The fundamentel truth pervading the Universe, in different forms, is now being realised by the Poet. In 'A Bird and the Glow-worm', he says:

سرشام ایک مرغ نغمہ پیرا کسی ٹہنی پہ بیٹھا گارہا تھا

In the evening, a bird sat warbling on a twig.

He saw something shining on the ground and taking it for a glow-worm flew down :

کہا جگنو نے او مرغ نوا ریز
نہ کر بیکس پہ منقار ہوس تیز
تجھے جس نے چہک' گل کو مہک دی
اسی اللہ نے مجھ کو چمک دی

The glow-worm said, " O warbling bird !
Don't sharpen thy beak on a helpless one,
One, who has given song to thee and perfume to the flower—
The same Creator has given me brightness.

All things on Earth are shining with beauty— Iqbal believes that the soul is searching for something lost.

روح کو لیکن کسی گم گشتہ شے کی ہے ہوس
ورنہ اس صحرا میں کیوں نالاں ہے یہ مثل جرس

But the soul is greedy for something lost,
Otherwise, why is it crying plaintively in this desert like a bell.

Iqbal's Ghazals in the first part of the *Bang* are simple and are typical of the " period of growth ". The following verses are remarkable :

گلزار ہست و بود نہ بیگانہ وار دیکھ
ہے دیکھنے کی چیز اسے بار بار دیکھ

Do not look upon the garden of Existence as a stranger.
It is something worth seeing, see it again and again !

لاؤں وہ تنکے کہیں سے آشیانے کے لئے
بجلیاں بیتاب ہوں جن کو جلانے کے لئے
جمع کر خرمن تو پہلے دانہ دانہ چن کے تو
آ ہی نکلیگی کوئی بجلی جلانے کے لئے
پاس تھا ناکامئے صیاد کا اے ہمصفیر
ورنہ میں اور اڑکے آتا ایک دانے کے لئے

From some place I should bring those straws to make a nest,
To burn which lightning may be impatient.
Gather first the harvest, grain by grain,
Lightning may chance to burn it.
I did not wish to disappoint the bird-catcher,
Otherwise, should I have flown to this place for a single grain?

موت کا نسخہ ابھی باقی ہے اے درد فراق!
چارہ گر دیوانہ ہے' میں لادوا کیونکر ہوا

The prescription of death yet remains, O pain of separation!
The physician is mad, how can I be incurable?

نہیں بیگانگی اچھی رفیق راہ منزل سے
ٹھہر جا اے شرر ہم بھی توآخرمٹنے والےہیں

Strangeness to a companion on the way to the goal is not good,
Wait, O spark of fire! we are also going to be extinguished.

چمن زار محبت میں خموشی موت ہے بلبل
یہاں کی زندگی پابندئ رسم فغاں تک ہے

O nightingale! Silence is death in the garden of love,
Life here depends on being confined to the custom of crying.

کبھی اپنا بھی نظارہ کیا ہے تونے اے مجنوں!
کہ لیلیٰ کی طرح تو خود بھی ہے محمل نشینوں میں

Hast thou ever had a look at thyself? O Majnun!
Thou art also one of the litter occupiers, like a Leila.

جلا سکتی ھے شمع کشتہ کو موج نفس ان کی
الھی! کیا چھپا ھوتا ھے اھل دل کے سینون میں

Their breath can light the extinguished candle,
O God! what is hidden in the bosoms of the "people of heart".

کوئی دم کا مہمان ھوں اے اھل محفل
چراغ سحر ھون بجھا چاھتا ھوں

O members of the Assembly! I am a guest only for some moments,
I am the candle of the morning about to be extinguished.

تمیز لالہ و گل سے ھے نالہ بلبل
جہان مین وا نہ کوئی چشم امتیاز کرے

The cry of the nightingale is due to the distinction between the tulip and the rose,
No one should open his eye of distinction in this world.

شبنم کی طرح پھولون پہ رو' اور چمن سے چل
اس باغ میں قیام کا سودا بھی چھوڑ دے

Weep over the flowers like dew and move from the garden
Abandon also the mad desire to stay in the garden.

اچھا ھے دل کے پاس رھے پاسبان عقل
لیکن کبھی کبھی اسے تنہا بھی چھوڑ دے

It is good that the 'guard of wisdom' should stay near the heart
But it should be allowed to move alone sometimes.

Till now the poetic genius of Iqbal was passing through its primary stage. Usual topics of original poetry as beauty and love appealed to him. The mystic and philosophic elements which later on made Iqbal the premier poet of his time are discernible throughout his verse. He is inquisitive

about the mysterious working of the universal system. He is not responded to by nature, however, he is after truth and the poet's higher study in philosophy acquainted him with the ultimate questions and answers of life. The practical life of Europe and modern affairs could not but impress the poet. At the same time was conscious of the process of decay that had set in Asiatic society. As a consequence, Iqbal determined to give up writing poetry—:

مدیر مخزن سے جاکے اقبال کوئی میرا پیام کہدے
جو کام کچھ کر رہی ہیں قومیں انہیں مذاق سخن نہیں ہے

Iqbal ! let some one take my message to the Editor of the Makhzan—
The nations who are active have no taste for poetry.

Fortunately Iqbal was dissuaded from doing so The poet began to write poetry again, but it acquired a new colour. The former confusion is cleared. He now believes that life is a struggle. Modern civilization is based on materialism and it is dangerous. Freedom, equality and fraternity in Europe were the outcome of the French Revolution, but now they had a different meaning. The problems of nationalism, race, religion and colour had sprung to the fore and dominated European thought. Democracy was only another form of despotism and the growing Earth-hunger of the European nations was bound to lead the world to chaos.

The superficial character of European civilisation had no appeal to Iqbal; he was rather dubious about its future. His study in philosophy and Islamic literature combined with the reaction of modern life on him, opened a new vista of thought. He fell upon the past, and the teachings of Islam and its great men who had built such vast empires had greater inspiration for him. He found the material civilisation of Europe devoid of any spiritual element and the so-called freedom of the West was to him slavery in disguise.

Among his poems that he wrote in Europe, *Mahabbat* describes the creation of love:

عروس شب کی زلفیں تھیں ابھی نا آشنا خم سے
ستارے آسماں کے بے خبر تھے لذت رم سے

The curls of the bride of night were yet unfamiliar with their forms,

The stars in the sky were hardly acquainted with the desire of motion.

The moon yet looked strange in its new dress and it was yet the beginning of the world. It is said there was an Alchemist in the upper world. He obtained the prescription of an elixir which was written on one of the pillars of 'Arsh'. He then took brightness from the star, the 'liver scar' from the moon, blackness of night from the dishevelled lock, agitation from lightning, purity from a houri, heat from the breath of the Messiah, a little independence from God, holiness from an angel and precipitancy from dew. All these constituents were then dissolved

in the water of the spring of life and this compound was designated ' Love ' from the grand ' Arsh ':

هوئی جنبش عیاں ذروں نے لطف خواب کو چھوڑا
گلے ملنے لگے اُٹھ اُٹھ کے اپنے اپنے ہمدم سے
خرام ناز پایا آفتابوں نے ستاروں نے
چٹک غنچوں نے پائی داغ پائے لالہ زاروں نے

Motion appeared, the particles woke up from their sweet sleep,
They got up and began to embrace their friends,
The suns and the stars attained their beautiful gait,
The buds opened—the tulips were scarred.

An equally beautiful poem is *Haqiqat-i-Husn* in which the Poet explains the reality of beauty:

ملا جواب کہ تصویر خانہ ہے دنیا
شب دراز عدم کا فسانہ ہے دنیا

The answer received was that the world is a picture-gallery,
The world is a story of the long night of Existence.

ہوئی ہے رنگ تغیر سے جب نمود اس کی
وہی حسیں ہے حقیقت زوال ہے جسکی

As its appearance is due to the colour of change,
That one is beautiful whose beauty dies.

The poet now feels that he has been affected with the restlessness of love, and feels it his duty to enlighten others. He requests the "Old Man of the Tavern" to dispense ' country wine ':

عشق نے کردیا تجھے ذوق تپش سے آشنا
بزم کو مثل شمع بزم حاصل سوز و ساز دے

Love has acqainted thee with the desire for agitation,
Convey to the Assembly ' the product of burning and melting like the candle '.

پیرِ مغاں فرنگ کی مے کا نشاط ہے اثر
اس میں وہ کیفِ غم نہیں مجھکو تو خانہ ساز دے

Old man of the tavern! joy is the result of European wine
It does not possess remorse. Give me 'my country wine'!

At this time Indian political conditions were rapidly changing. What were the Indian Muslims to do? Iqbal presented his view-point in a poem addressed "To the Aligarh students":

موت ہے عیشِ جاوداں ذوقِ طلب اگر نہ ہو
گردشِ آدمی ہے اور گردشِ جام اور ہے

Eternal life is a death if there is no desire for search
The *circulation* of man is different from that of a Cup.

The beauty and selection of words in the following lines are exquisite:

جلوۂ طور میں جیسے یدِ بیضائے کلیم
موجۂ نکہتِ گلزار میں غنچے کی شمیم
ہے ترے سیلِ محبت میں یونہی دل میرا

Like the white hand of Moses in the light of Mount Sinai
Or like the scent of a bud in the perfumed breeze of a garden,
Just so, is my heart in the flood of thy love.

The dialogue between the moon and the stars is striking one. Like Tennyson's "Lotus-Eaters," the stars are tired of constant shining

کام اپنا ہے صبح و شام چلنا — چلنا، چلنا، مدام چلنا
بیتاب ہے اس جہاں کی ہر شے — کہتے ہیں جسے سکوں نہیں ہے
کہنے لگا چاند ہمنشینو! — اے مزرعِ شب کے خوشہ چینو!
جنبش سے ہے زندگی جہاں کی — یہ رسم قدیم ہے یہاں کی

Our work is to move from morning to evening,
Moving, moving and always moving.
Everything is restless in this world,
What they call peace, there is none
"Comrades!" said the moon,
"O harvesters in the harvest of night!
Life in this world is due to motion,
It is an old custom of this place."

The Poet now comes across another truth. The morning is restless in the 'separation of the sun', the 'eye of twilight' weeps for the evening star. The 'Qais' of the day longs for the 'Leila' of night and the morning star is impatient for constant scintillation. The secret of life is brought to light by Mercury:

راز حیات پوچھ لے خضر خجستہ گام سے
زندہ ھر ایک چیز ھے کوشش ناتمام سے

Ask Khizi (Mercury) the secret of life,
Everything is alive with an incomplete effort.

Like the Italian poet who said, "Take my *to-morrow* and give me your *to-day*," to Iqbal, youth means "to-day's pleasure":

عجیب چیز ھے احساس زندگانی کا
عقیدہ "عشرت امروز" ھے جوانی کا

The feeling of life is a strange thing,
"To-day's pleasure" is the creed of youth.

Being alive to all what was going on around him in Europe and the awe-inspiring conditions in Asia (particularly in the Muslim world), Iqbal wrote a historic letter to Sh. (now Sir) Abdul Qadir to launch a new programme for the revival of the

nation:

اٹھ کہ ظلمت ہوئی پیدا افق خاور پر
بزم میں شعلہ نوائی سے اجالا کردیں

Arise! darkness has appeared on the horizon of the East;
Let us light up the Assembly with our fiery voice.

رخت جاں بتکدہ چیں سے اٹھا لیں اپنا
سب کو محو رخ سعدیٰ و سلیمیٰ کردیں

Let us remove the ward-robe of our soul from the idol-house of China
Let us captivate all with the faces of Su'da and Suleima.

Being a student of Islamic history and born and brought up in the religious traditions ot Islam, Iqbal was deeply impressed by the sight of Sicily:

رو لے اب دل کھول کر اے دیدۂ خونابہ بار
وہ نظر آتا ہے تہذیب حجازی کا مزار

Weep to thy heart's content, O tearful eye!
There is the grave of the Hejaz civilization!

The number of *ghazals* written in Europe is comparatively small. They contain an element of modern problems. The following verses throw light on the poet's impressive thought.

نرالا سارے جہاں سے اس کو عرب کے معمار نے بنایا
بنا ہمارے حصار ملت کی اتحاد وطن نہیں ہے

The Architect of Arabia has raised it as a unique edifice in the world.
The foundation of the fort of our people is not the unity of native land.

زمانہ آیا ہے بے حجابی کا عام دیدار یار ہوگا
سکوت تھا پردہ دار جس کا وہ راز اب آشکار ہوگا

The time for disclosing has come, there will be a general exposition of the Beloved;
The secret which was for long veiled in silence, shall now come to light.

دیار مغرب کے رہنے والو خدا کی بستی دکان نہیں ہے
کھرا جسے تم سمجھ رہے ہو وہ اب زر کم عیار ہوگا

O Inhabitants of the Western lands! the city of God is not a shop,
The gold that you have been taking for genuine, shall now prove false.

میں ظلمت شب میں لیکے نکلوں گا اپنے در ماندہ کارواں کو
شرر فشاں ہوگی آہ میری' نفس مرا شعلہ بار ہوگا

I will set out with my weary caravan in the darkness of night
My sigh shall scatter sparks ot fire; my breath shall breathe out flames.

The third part ot *Bang-i-Dara* opens with the poem *Bilad-i-Islamia*, wherein the poet describes the ancient grandeur of the great cities of the Muslim world: Delhi—the sanctuary of Islamic glory, Baghdad—the garden of the desert poppy, Cordova—where Islamic society lighted the candle of modern civilization, Constantinople—the heart of the Muslim world, Medina—the resting-place of the Holy Prophet;

آہ یثرب! دیس ہے مسلم کا تو' ماویٰ ہے تو
نقطہ جاذب تاثر کی شعاعوں کا ہے تو
جب تلک باقی ہے تو' دنیا میں باقی ہم بھی ہیں
صبح ہے تو اس چمن میں گوہر شبنم بھی ہیں

Ah Yathrab! thou art the nativc-land of the Muslim, thou art his resting-place

'hou art the point that attracts and radiates thought.
.s long as thou art existent, we also exist in this world,
' there is morning, there is also the pearl of the dew-drop in the garden.

ιgain the poet explains the fact that inactivity ossible in the present order of things, He puts stion to a star:

قمر کا خوف کہ ہے خطرۂ سحر تجھ کو
مآل حسن کی کیا مل گئی خبر تجھ کو؟
چمکنے والے مسافر! عجب یہ بستی ہے
جو اوج ایک کا ہے دوسرے کی پستی ہے
سکون محال ہے قدرت کے کارخانے میں
ثبات ایک تغیر کو ہے زمانے میں!

)ost thou fear the moon, or, art thou in danger of the dawn?
Vhat information about the end of beauty hast thou received?
) shining traveller! this is a strange habitation—
'he rise of the one is the fall of the other.
ıactivity is impossible in the workshop of nature,
:hange is the only thing permanent in this world.

Goristan-i-Shahi ('The Royal Cemetry) is a poem ͤn by the poet during his short stay in Hyder- (Deccan). The poet was taken one night by iend to see the silent domes under which were the kings of the Qutb dynasty The dead of the night, the sky overcast and the moon-penetrating through the clouds deeply affected oet's mind. The poem is a reflection of the

past together with a deep concern for the present:

آسمان بادل کا پہنے خرقۂ دیرینہ ہے
کچھ مکدر سا جبین ماہ کا آئینہ ہے

The sky wears the old attire of clouds,
The mirror of the forehead of the moon is a little gloomy.

زندگی انساں کی ہے مانند مرغ خوش نوا
شاخ پر بیٹھا کوئی دم، چہچہایا، اڑ گیا

The life of man is like a sweet-tuned bird
Who sat for some time on the branch of a tree, sang and flew away.

اس زیاں خانے میں کوئی ملت گردوں وقار
رہ نہیں سکتی ابد تک بار دوش روزگار

No nation of celestial glory, in this house of loss,
Can ever remain a burden on the shoulder of Time.

دل ہمارے یاد عہد رفتہ سے خالی نہیں
اپنے شاہوں کو یہ امت بھولنے والی نہیں

Our hearts are not empty from the memory of past age,
This nation is not likely to forget its kings.

Lucifer pales before the appearance of morning. The poet depicts a beautiful picture·

ہے رواں نجم سحر جیسے عبادت خانے سے
سب سے پیچھے جائے کوئی عابد شب زندہ دار

The morning star is moving from the house of prayer
Like the early worshipper leaving it last of all.

The hereditary faithfulness that the modern Muslim has acquired by service in the 'House of God' has to-day been transferred into a different channel and the result is the inclination towards

idol-houses. Iqbal questions in *Tazmin bar Shi'r-i Anisi Shamlu :*

ترا اے قیس! کیونکر ہوگیا سوز دروں ٹھنڈا؟
کہ لیلیٰ میں تو ہیں اب تک وہی انداز لیلائی

O Qais! how is it that thy 'inner flame' has become cold,
While Leila yet retains the same old airs of Leila.

In a poem entitled *Falsafa-i-Gham* and addressed to the late Mian Fazl-i-Husain, Iqbal explains the philosophy of grief:

غم جوانی کو جگا دیتا ہے لطف خواب سے
ساز یہ بیدار ہوتا ہے اسی مضراب سے

Grief awakens youth from the rapture of a dream,
This instrument wakes up with this very plectrum.

عشق کچھ محبوب کے مرنے سے مرجاتا نہیں
روح میں غم بن کے رہتا ہے مگر جاتا نہیں

Love does not perish with the death of the beloved,
It resides in the soul like grief, but does not pass away.

ایک اصلیت میں ہے نہر روان زندگی
گر کے رفعت سے ہجوم نوع انساں بن گئی
پستیٔ عالم میں ملنے کو جدا ہوتے ہیں ہم
عارضی فرقت کو دائم جان کر روتے ہیں ہم

The moving stream of life is, in essence, one,
Having fallen from a height, it has turned into a multitude of humanity.
We part to meet in the lower regions of the world,
Taking the temporary separation to be everlasting, we weep.

We have already come across *Tarana-i-Hindi*. Here is another poem of Iqbal—*Tarana-i-Milli* (The

Muslim National Anthem) which enjoys wide popularity among the Muslims all over the world:

چین و عرب ہمارا ہندوستاں ہمارا
مسلم ہیں ہم وطن ہے سارا جہاں ہمارا

" Ours is China, ours Arabia,
Ours too is Hindoostan:
Our home is all the wide world over,
Truly are we Musalman."

As a political conception, Iqbal looks upon nationalism as something dangerous to civilisation and culture of humanity, particularly to the solidarity of Islam. So he says: "In view of the new times, the new Saki and the new wine, the Muslim has also built a new worship-house. The sculptor of civilisation has made him carve new idols:"

ان تازہ خداؤں میں بڑا سب سے وطن ہے
جو پیرہن اس کا ہے وہ مذہب کا کفن ہے

The biggest among these new gods is 'native land',
That which is its attire is the shroud of religion.

اقوام میں مخلوق خدا بٹتی ہے اس سے
قومیّت اسلام کی جڑ کٹتی ہے اس سے

It divides the people of God into nations,
It cuts at the root of Islamic nationhood.

Shikwah the poet's lament or "The Complaint," is one of the most popular poems of Iqbal; it has appealed to the sense of a nation which was at one time counted among the foremost people of the world.

We are already familiar with Hali's *Shikwah-i-Hind*, but Iqbal's poem differs, in so far as it is a direct complaint to God, protesting against the present-day conditions of the Muslim world as contrasted with its glorious past of golden traditions. *Shikwah* has had a healthy effect upon Muslims inasmuch as it has reminded them of the past history of Islam, but it is still too early to say if it has awakened Muslim India from its long sleep. Of the popularity of *Shikwah* among Muslims, however, there can be no doubt. The inner thoughts of the poet's mind are reflected in the following lines:

ہے بجا شیوۂ تسلیم میں مشہور ہیں ہم
قصۂ درد سناتے ہیں کہ مجبور ہیں ہم
اے خدا شکوۂ ارباب وفا بھی سن لے
خوگر حمد سے تھوڑا سا گلا بھی سن لے

It is true, we are famous for the practice of resignation,
We relate the story of grief, for we are so compelled.
O God! listen to the lament of the faithful,
Listen to a little complaint from one, accustomed to praise

آگیا عین لڑائی میں اگر وقت نماز
قبلہ رو ہوکے زمیں بوس ہوئی قوم حجاز
ایک ہی صف میں کھڑے ہو گئے محمود و ایاز
نہ کوئی بندہ رہا اور نہ کوئی بندہ نواز
بندہ و صاحب و محتاج و غنی ایک ہوئے
تری سرکار میں پہنچے تو سبھی ایک ہوئے

In the battle-field, as the time of prayer approached,
The people of Hejaz kissed the earth with their faces

towards the Qiblah.
In the same line stood Mahmud and Ayaz,
There was neither a slave, nor a master,
The slave, the master, the needy and the rich became one,
When they reached Thy court, all become one,

پھر بھی ہم سے یہ گلا ہے کہ وفادار نہیں
ہم وفادار نہیں' تو بھی تو دلـــدار نہیں

Yet there is a complaint that we are not faithful,
If we are not faithful, Thou art not Beloved also

اے خوش ان روز کہ آئی و بصد ناز آئی
بے حجابانہ سوئے محفل ما باز آئی

Happy is the day that Thou cometh in all thy glory:
Without a veil Thou returneth to our Assembly.

"The Night and the Poet" is a beautiful dialogue which explains the mind of Iqbal. The poet goes out roaming at night. Night asks him to give a reason for his action. The poet replies:

میں ترے چاند کی کھیتی میں گہر بوتا ہوں
چھپ کے انسانوں سے مانند سحر روتا ہوں
دن کی شورش میں نکلتے ہوئے شرماتے ہیں
عزلت شب میں مرے اشک ٹپک جاتے ہیں
صفت شمع لحد مردہ ہے محفـــل میـری
آہ! اے رات بڑی دور ہے منـزل میـری

I sow pearls in the field of thy moon,
Hidden from men, I weep like the morning,
They feel ashamed to come out in the noise of the day--
My tears rush out in the loneliness of night.
Like the candle of the grave my Assembly is dead,

Ah! Very far is my goal, O night!

Iqbal believes in the great potentialities of man through constant desire:

اس ذرّہ کو رهتی هے وسعت کی هوس هردم
یہ ذرّہ نہیں شاید سمٹا هؤا صحرا هے

This particle is in constant desire of space
It is not a particle, pershaps it is a desert crumpled.

The appearance of the new moon on the occasion of 'Id is a source of pleasure to him with a tinge of grief. The grief to-day is intense. Iqbal addresses the Crescent:

اوج گردوں سے ذرا دنیا کی بستی دیکھ لے
اپنی رفعت سے همارے گھر کی پستی دیکھ لے
قافلے دیکھ اور ان کی برق رفتاری بھی دیکھ
رهرو درماندہ کی منزل سے بیزاری بھی دیکھ

From the height of the sky, see awhile the abode of this world:
From thy height, see the lowliness of our house!
See the caravan and watch *their* lightning speed,
And watch the weary *traveller's* disgust for the Manzil.

Sham'-o-Sha'ir (the Candle and the Poet) one of Iqbal's masterpieces—is a poem which was read at the Anjuman anniversary. It is a dialogue between the Candle and the Poet and throws light on the insincerity and deterioration of the present-day poet The modern poet boasts of possessing a 'burning heart,' yet he does not exert any influence on society. His efforts bear no result. The poet's contrast to the candle is very vivid. The candle burns and illumines

every thing around it—the moths fly around it and sacrifice their lives. The poet is useless like a 'candle of the desert'. There is a vast difference between the candle and the poet. The burning of a candle is a natural phenomenon. The poet's 'burning and melting' is a pose. Hence the poet fails to attract the people and create in them a real sense of sacrifice. The poet addresses the candle:

دوش می گفتم به شمع منزل ویران خویش
گیسوئے تو از پر پروانه دارد شانه
در جهان مثل چراغ لاله صحرا اسنم
نے نصیب محفلے' نے قسمت کاشانه
مدتے مانند تو من هم نفس می سوختم
در طواف شعله‌ام بالے نزد پروانه
از کجا این آتش عالم‌فروز اندوختی
کرمک بے مایه را سوز کلیم اموختی

Yester-night I was saying to the 'candle of my deserted house',
Thy lock has, for its comb, the wing of the moth,
In the world, I am like the candle of the desert.
Neither the fortune of an Assembly, nor that of an abode.
For long, I have also been burning my breath like thee,
Not a single moth fluttered in going round my flame,
Where hast thou gathered this world-illuminating fire from?
Thou hast taught the poor moth the 'burning' of Moses.

The candle replies:

میں تو حلتی هوں که هے مضمر مری فطرت میں سوز
تو فروزان هے که پروانوں کو هو سودا ترا

I burn because it is my nature to burn,
Thou art luminous so that the moths may be enamoured of thee.

کعبہ پہلو میں ہے، اور سودائی بتخانہ ہے
کس قدر شوریدہ سر ہے شوق بے پروا ترا
قیس پیدا ہوں تری محفل میں یہ ممکن نہیں
تنگ ہے صحرا ترا محمل ہے بے لیلیٰ ترا

The Kaaba is in thy bosom and thou art mad after the 'idol-house',
How mad is thy irresponsible longing?
The rising of a Qais, from thy Assembly, is not possible.
Thy desert is narrow; thy litter has no Leila.

رو رہی ہے آج اک ٹوٹی ہوئی مینا اسے
کل تلک گردش میں جس ساقی کے پیمانے رہے
آج ہیں خاموش وہ دشت جنوں پرور جہاں
رقص میں لیلیٰ رہی لیلیٰ کے دیوانے رہے

To-day, a broken pitcher is bewailing one—
The Saki whose cups were going round till yesterday,
To-day, the deserts of romance are silent, where—
Leila danced in the company of her lovers.

But it is not all over. There is yet a glimmer of hope.

شام غم لیکن خبر دیتی ہے صبح عید کی
ظلمت شب میں نظر آئی کرن امید کی

But the evening of grief brings the tidings of an 'Id morning
In the darkness of night is seen the glimmer of hope.

پھر کہیں سے اس کو پیدا کر بڑی دولت ہے یہ
زندگی کیسی جو دل بیگانۂ پہلو ہوا

Procure it once again; it is a great wealth,
What is that life, if thy heart is a stranger to thy bosom?

اہ کس کی جستجو رکھتی ہے آوارہ تجھے
راہ تو، رہرو بھی تو، رہبر بھی تو، منزل بھی تو

Ah ! Whose search keeps thee wandering ?
Thou art the Path, the Traveller, the Guide and thou art the Goal.

Towards the end, there is a reference to the speedy changes that are taking place all over the world:

آنکھ جو کچھ دیکھتی ہے لب پہ آسکتا نہیں
محو حیرت ہوں کہ دنیا کیا سے کیا ہوجائے گی

Whatever the eye sees can hardly be expressed,
I am dumb-founded as to what the world is to become.

Jawab-i-Shikwah (the Reply to the Complaint) gives the causes of the present unhappy state of Muslims with the assurance that faith in the Holy Prophet will make them master of things, even beyond this world. There is a warning against ' modernism'.The *Shikwah* was perhaps misunderstood :

کچھ جو سمجھا میرے شکوے کو تو رضوان سمجھا
مجھ کو جنت سے نکالا ہوا انسان سمجھا

The Rizwan (the Warden of Paradise) understood my Complaint to some extent, if at all.
He took me for a man driven out of Paradise,

In view of the fact that the Muslim character has deteriorated, the question is :

یوں تو سید بھی ہو، مرزا بھی ہو، افغان بھی ہو
تم سبھی کچھ ہو، بتاؤ تو مسلمان بھی ہو؟

Well, you may be a Sayyid, a Mirza and also an Afghan,
You may be everything, but are you a Muslim too ?

عہد نو برق ہے، آتش زن ہر خرمن ہے
ایمن اس سے کوئی صحرا نہ کوئی گلشن ہے

اس نئی آگ کا اقوام کہن ایندھن ہے
ملت ختم رسل شعلہ بہ پیراہن ہے

The modern age is lightning that sets fire to every harvest.
No Sahara is safe from it, nor any garden,
The ancient nations are like fuel to this new fire.
The people of the Holy Prophet are with a flame in the (fringe of their) attire.

The poet's views on modern education and its consequences may well be gathered from the following verses :—

ہم سمجھتے تھے کہ لائے گی فراغت تعلیم
کیا خبر تھی کہ چلا آئیگا الحاد بھی ساتھ
گھر میں پرویز کے شیریں تو ہوئی جلوہ نما
لے کے آئی ہے مگر تیشۂ فرہاد بھی ساتھ

We were under the impression that education might bring respite,
It was never known that heresy would accompany it,
Yea, Shirin did light up the house of Parvez,
But she has also brought Farhad's adze with her.

The ever-agitating wish of Iqbal as to the revival of Islam takes the form of a prayer :

یارب دل مسلم کو وہ زندہ تمنا دے
جو قلب کو گرما دے، جو روح کو تڑپا دے
بھٹکے ہوئے آہو کو پھر سوئے حرم لے چل
اس شہر کے خوگر کو پھر وسعت صحرا دے

O God! grant a living desire to the heart of the Muslim
That warms the heart and agitates the soul
Take the stray deer to the Kaaba again,
Give again the vastness of the Sahara to the deer immured in the city.

On the eve of 'Id, the poet was requested to write verses. In answer thereto, the poet relates what a pale leaf said to him in the Shalamar Gardens:

یہ شالامار میں اک برگ زرد کہتا تھا
گیا وہ موسم گل حس کا راز دار ہوں میں
احاڑ ہوگئے عہد کہن کے میخانے
گذشتہ بادہ پرستوں کی یادگار ہوں میں

This is what a pale leaf was saying in the Shalamar—
" The spring has passed, the secret of which I hold,
The taverns of old have been laid waste,
I am the last of the wine-worshippers of the past."

One of the most tragic incidents of Moghul history was the putting out of Shah Alam's eyes by Ghulam Qadir Rohilla. Iqbal repeats the story as a moral lesson ·

مگر یہ راز آخر کھل گیا سارے زمانے پر
حمیت نام تھا حس کا گئی تیمور کے گھر سے

But this secret was at last disclosed to the whole world,
That which was termed self-respect had vanished from
the House of Timur.

" In Memory of the Blessed Mother " is a long elegy written by the poet on the death of his mother. It explains the various aspects of death by drawing inferences from natural phenomena .

موت تجدید مذاق زندگی کا نام ھے
خواب کے پردے میں بیداری کا اک پیغام ھے

Death is another name for the renewal of the desire
for life.
Under the veil of sleep it is a message of awakening.

Iqbal was by temprament and education a peace-loving man. He was never after worldly greatness. So he says in response to a letter:

ہوس بھی ہو تو نہیں مجھ میں ہمت تگ و تاز
حصول جاہ ہے وابستۂ مذاق تلاش

Even if there is a desire, I have no mind for (intrigue) struggle.
The attainment of status is connected with a sense for search.

In the year 1922, Iqbal read his semi-political poem *Khizr-i-Rah* at the annual meeting of the Anjuman Himayat-i-Islam of Lahore. The poem is a review of modern problems and present-day politics. The poem ranks with his *Sham'-o-Sha'ir.* The introductory verses describing the nightly scenes on the bank of the river and the appearance of Khizr are an index to the poet's marvellous power of description:

ساحل دریا پہ تھا اک رات میں محو نظر
گوشۂ دل میں چھپائے اک جہان اضطراب
دیکھتا کیا ہوں کہ وہ پیک جہاں پیما خضر
جس کی پیری میں ہے مانند سحر رنگ شباب
کہہ رہا ہے مجھ سے اے جویائے اسرار ازل
چشم دل وا ہو تو ہے تقدیر عالم بے حجاب

I was one night busy sight-seeing on the bank of the river,
And had hidden in the corner of my heart a world of commotion.
I see, all of a sudden, that "world-measuring messenger"—Khizr.

Who in old age has the colour of youth, like the morning.
"O seeker of eternal secrets!" exclaimed he,
"If the eye of the heart is open, the destiny of the world is unveiled."

The poet hearing all this, asks Khizr a few questions: "What is the secret of life? What is Government? The struggle between capital and labour? and the conditions prevailing in the Muslim world?" Khizr gives a dignified reply in keeping with his traditional reputation of being a 'globe-trotter.'

Very solemnly, Khizr asks the poet not to be surprised by his wanderings, day and night, for this constant moving is the sign of life:

پختہ تر ھے گردش پیہم سے جام زندگی
ھے یہی اے بیخبر راز دوام زندگی

Constant circulation makes the cup of life more stable,
O ignorant one! this is the very secret of life.

ھو صداقت کے لئے جس دل میں مرنے کی تڑپ
پہلے اپنے پیکر خاکی میں جاں پیدا کرے

Whosoever desires to lay his life for truth,
He should first procure a soul in his body of clay.

With reference to ان الملوک, Khizr gives the meaning of Government—*Sultanet*.

آ بتاؤں تجھ کو رمز آیۂ ان الملوک
سلطنت اقوام غالب کی ھے اک جادوگری

Come, I will explain to you the secret of the verse: *Inn-'l-Muluk.*

Government is the art of sorcery, practised by the dominating races.

خون اسرائیل آجاتا ہے آخر جوش میں
توڑ دیتا ہے کوئی موسیٰ طلسم سامری

The blood of Israel at last boils up,
And a Moses 'breaks' the talisman of Samiri.

The following is a message for the labourer entitled "Capital and Labour":

دست دولت آفریں کو مزد یوں ملتی رہی
اہل ثروت جیسے دیتے ہیں غریبوں کو زکات

The hand that labours is paid wages
As if the rich people give away alms to the poor.

The story of the Muslim world is lamentable:

کیا سناتا ہے مجھے ترک و عرب کی داستاں
مجھ سے کچھ پنہاں نہیں اسلامیوں کا سوز و ساز

Why do you relate the story of the Turk and the Arab,
The tragedy of the people of Islam is nothing of a secret to me.

لے گئے تثلیث کے فرزند میراث خلیل
خشت بنیاد کلیسا بن گئی خاک حجاز

ملک ہاتھوں سے گیا ملت کی آنکھیں کھل گئیں
حق ترا چشمے عطا کرد است غافل در نگر

The sons of Trinity have carried away the inheritance of Abraham.
The dust of Hejaz has been turned into the foundation stone of Ecclesia.
"The country passed out of the hands of the Nation, and its eyes were opened,"
God has given thee an eye, O heedless! see.

Now the prevailing conditions were changing. The poet saw that the veil of darkness was lifting and the 'Dawn of Islam' was appearing. He presented a dim picture of the coming time in one of his inspiring poems *Tulu'-i-Islam* (the Rise of Islam) in March, 1923. The poet had seen the great changes of far-reaching consequences after the Great War. He could well foresee what was going to happen thereafter:

دلیل صبح روشن ہے ستاروں کی تنک تابی
افق سے آفتاب ابھرا گیا دور گراں خوابی
عروق مردۂ مشرق میں خون زندگی دوڑا
سمجھ سکتے نہیں اس راز کو سینا و فارابی

The dimness of the stars is a sign of the bright morning;
The sun rose above the horizon, the age of deep slumber is gone.

In the dead veins of the East ran the blood of life,
This is a secret—Avicenna and Farabi cannot apprehend it.

پرے ہے چرخ نیلی فام سے منزل مسلماں کی
ستارے جس کی گرد راہ ہوں وہ کارواں تو ہے

Beyond the blue sky is the goal of the Muslim,
Thou art a caravan whose way dust should be the stars.

یہ نکتہ سرگذشت ملت بیضا سے ہے پیدا
کہ اقوام زمین ایشیا کا پاسباں تو ہے

This point is made clear by the story of the Islamic people—
That thou art the warden of the nations of Asia.

There are a few *ghazals* in the third part of the *Bang*. The following verses are appreciable:

زندگی کی رہ پہ چل لیکن ذرا بچ بچ کے چل
یہ سمجھ لے کوئی مینا خانہ بار دوش ھے

Walk along the path of life, but walk with caution;
Know that there is a glass-house on thy shoulder!

پردہ چہرے سے اٹھا، انجمن آرائی کر
چشم مہر و مہ و انجم کو تماشائی کر

Lift the veil from thy face and adorn the Assembly,
Let the eyes of the sun, the moon and the stars be among the on-lookers!

تو جنس محبت ھے قیمت ھے گراں تیری
کم مایہ ھیں سوداگر، اس دیس میں ارزاں ھو

Thou art the *commodity* of love, thy price is heavy;
The traders are poor here, lower the rate in this land!

جو میں سربسجدہ ھوا کبھی تو زمیں سے آنے لگی صدا
ترا دل تو ھے صنم آشنا تجھے کیا ملے گا نماز میں

Whenever I executed a *sajdah* a voice came from the floor (of the Haram),
"Thy heart is friendly with the *idol*; what wilt thou gain by prayer?"

Iqbal for sometime wrote humorous verse after the style of Akbar of Allahabad, but being a philosopher he found it difficult to avoid philosophical reflections. He could not carry on for long in this strain. Yet all that he wrote has the Iqbalian ring:

شیخ صاحب بھی تو پردے کے کوئی حامی نہیں
مفت میں کالج کے لڑکے ان سے بدظن ھوگئے
وعظ میں فرما دیا کل آپ نے یہ صاف صاف
"پردہ آخر کس سے ھو جب مرد ھی زن ھوگئے"

Sheikh Sahib himself is not much of a supporter of *purdah*,
The college students were for no reason displeased with him.
Yesterday, he said in unequivocal terms,
"Who shall wear a veil when men have turned into women?"

ہم مشرق کے مسکینوں کا دل مغرب میں جا اٹکا ہے
واں کنٹر سب بلّوری ہیں یاں ایک پرانا مٹکا ہے

The heart of the poor people of the East (we) is transfixed in the West,
There, the decanters are all crystalline, here is an antique (earthen) vat.

ASRAR-O-RUMUZ

ASRAR-O-RUMUZ, as the two poems of Iqbal, *Asrar-i-Khudi* (the Secrets of the Self) and *Rumuz-i-Bekhudi* (the Mysteries of Selflessness) are called, may conveniently be taken to be the foundation stone of Iqbal's teachings. The *Asrar-i-Khudi* was first published at Lahore in 1915 and the *Rumuz i-Bekhudi* followed it shortly.

The conception of human entity, its fate and a natural desire to preserve it, has since the dawn of humanity given birth to various systems of philosophy and the thinkers of all ages have endeavoured to explain this mystic aspect of life according to the best of their ability. Iqbal being a student of religion, philosophy and history and a member of a nation in distress was naturally more concerned with human destiny.

The importance of the Self and its potentialities have ever been recognised in religion and mysticism. A well-known tradition, so often quoted in Sufistic circles, runs: من عرف نفسه فقد عرف ربه

"Whosoever knoweth himself, hath known God."

But the question as to the preservation or annihilation of the Self has not been clearly enunciated.

Hindu pantheism believes in the absorption of the soul in the Universal life as the aim of all human activity. Buddhism regards the death of all desire as the source of all peace. There are many other systems of thought that ultimately lead to self-immolation, even Christianity did not escape the influence of such teachings. Human salvation is the sole object of all thought that has come to us through the ages.

Iqbal's philosophy is primarily based on religion. He supports it with modern philosophy, though he does not believe in philosophy, yet he makes full use of it, so far as it helps to understand religion. As he is a firm believer in intuition, he attaches little importance to reason.

Asrar-o-Rumuz presents a theme almost continuous. The former is concerned with the development and growth of an individual (self), the latter deals with (the self of) society—a phase in continuation.

To Iqbal, the Self is something real, capable of development and preservation, here and hereafter,

and a struggle to this end is the noblest of all the human pursuits and every thought and action leading to the weakening and ultimate deterioration of the Self is the root-cause of human decay. From this point of view, Iqbal is a realist and his poetry is a message of hope and assurance, in contradistinction to the idealistic teachings of the latter-day Sufis and poets. It is no wonder that his criticism of Hafiz was the cause of angry protests from Sufi circles where Hafiz is regarded as a highly venerable exponent of mystic thought. But as the passage had served the poet's purpose, it was later on cancelled in the second edition of the poem.

Based on the close study of Eastern and Western thought Iqbal developed his own system of philosophy, of which however, according to Dr. Nicholson, *Asrar-i-Khudi* gives no systematic account It should be noted here that Iqbal is a poet, and as such the presentation of his thought in the form of poetry is a handicap to the philosopher. As a poet, he appeals to the heart with burning sincerity, which would be otherwise difficult in philosophical prose. The contents of *Asrar-o-Rumuz* have a universal appeal. As Iqbal is conscious that his teachings will be better understood in the future, he says:

نغمه ام از زخمه بے پرواستم
من نوای شاعر فرداستم

I am a song, unmindful of the plectrum,
I am the voice of the poet of to-morrow.

Being a student of modern philosophy, he has much in common with Bergson and Nietzsche, but he violently differs from them, where they are not in conjunction with his thought. While studying Iqbal, it must be borne in mind that he is a Muslim Philosopher and does not get away from Islam, even for a single moment, in the flight of his philosophical imagination. To him, religion always means Islam. His strength of feeling and burning passion may have a resemblance to Shelley and may even be likened to the Greek poet Pindar whose genius "scorned all restraints of traditional rule and won his triumph by the sheer vehemence of masterful inspiration," but Iqbal is a personality by himself.

The metre and form of *Asrar-i-Khudi* have a close likeness to that of Rumi's *Mathnawi* In the introduction, the poet relates the appearance of Rumi in a vision who bade him take a draught of the pure wine—and abandon silent wailings. Rumi is a great source of inspiration to Iqbal, but the latter has no sympathy for the former's doctrine of self-abandonment and rejects his pantheistic views.

At the request of Dr. Nicholson of Cambridge, Iqbal drew up a statement of his philosophical views on the contents of *Asrar-i-Khudi*. It would be interesting to note it here.

With reference to Professor Bradley's words, "that experience should take place in finite centres and should wear the form of finite this-ness is in

the end inexplicable," Iqbal says: "To my mind, this inexplicable finite centre of experience is a fundamental fact of the Universe. All life is individual; there is no such thing as universal self. God, himself, is an individual: He is the most unique individual. The Universe, as Dr. McTaggart says, is an association of individuals; but we must add that the orderliness and adjustment which we find in this association is not eternally achieved and complete in itself. It is the result of intuitive or conscious effort. We are gradually travelling from chaos to cosmos and are helpers in this achievement. Nor are the members of the association fixed; new members are coming to birth to co-operate in this great task. Thus the Universe is not a complete act: it is still in the course of formation. There can be no complete truth about the Universe, for the Universe has not yet become 'whole'. The process of creation is still going on and man too, takes his share in it, inasmuch as he helps to bring order into at least a portion of the chaos. The Quran indicates the possibility of other creators than God.

"The moral and religious ideal of man is not self-negation but self-affirmation, and he attains to this ideal by becoming more and more individual, more and more unique............He who comes nearest to God is the completest person. Not that he is finally absorbed in God. On the contrary, he absorbs God into himself............Life is a forward

assimilative movement........The Ego attains freedom by the removal of all obstructions in its way. It is partly free, partly determined............Anything that fortifies personality is good. Anything that weakens it, is bad. Art, religion, and ethics must be judged from the stand-point of personality............As love fortifies the Ego, asking (*Su'al*) weakens it ....

"The Ego in its movement towards uniqueness has to pass through three stages:

(*a*) Obedience to the Law.

(*b*) Self-control, which is the highest form of self-consciousness or Ego-hood.

(*c*) Divine vicegerency.

............Thus the kingdom of God on earth means the democracy of more or less unique individuals, presided over by the most unique individual possible on this earth. Nietzsche had a glimpse of this ideal race, but his atheism and aristocratic prejudices marred his whole conception."

ASRAR-I-KHUDI

Asrar-i-Khudi aims at the protection and growth of the Self: Desire is the fountain of life and is a driving force which manifests itself as human activity. Asking or (*Su'al*) weakens the Self. Love fortifies the soul and by it the Self gains dominion over the universal forces.

The poet denounces the doctrine of Self-

negation and warns Muslims against the teachings of Plato. The education of the Self requires it to pass through three stages as stated above.

The object of the Muslim's life is to exalt the word of God, and *Jihad* (War for Truth), if prompted by land-hunger, is unlawful in Islam.

The poet compares himself to a new-born sun:

در جهان خورشید نو زائیده ام
رسم و آئین فلک نا دیده ام

I am a new-born sun in this world,
I have not yet seen the 'custom and code' of the sky.

The poet pays a tribute to the inspiration of Rumi:

پیر رومی خاک را اکسیر کرد
از غبارم جلوه ها تعمیر کرد

Pir-i-Rumi turned my dust into elixir,
He raised 'lights of beauty' out of my dust.

The poet describes the object of writing this *Mathnawi*:

شاعری زین مثنوی مقصود نیست
بت پرستی بت گری مقصود نیست

Poetising is not the object of this *Mathnawi*:
Idol-worshipping as well as idol-making is not its object.

پارسی از رفعت اندیشه ام
در خورد با فطرت اندیشه ام

Persian on account of my lofty thought
Suits my nature (and expression).

The following verses are exponent of the poet's teachings in relation to the realisation of the Self:

پیکر هستی ز آثار خودی است
هرچه می بینی ز اسرار خودی است

The form of Existence is an effect of the Self,
All that thou seest is from amongst the secrets of the Self,

صد جهان پوشیده اندر ذات او
غیر او پیداست از اثبات او

A hundred worlds are hidden in *his* Self,
Self-affirmation leads to 'Not-Self'.

وا نمودن خویش را خوی خودی است
خفته در هر ذره نیروی خودی است

To manifest itself is the nature of the Self,
In every particle sleeps the might of the Self.

زندگانی را بقا از مدعا است
کاروانش را درا از مدعا است
زندگی در جستجو پوشیده است
اصل او در آرزو پوشیده است

Life lasts as long as there is purpose,
The bell of its caravan owes its existence to purpose,
Life is hidden in seeking,
Its origin lies shrouded in desire.

علم از سامان حفظ زندگی است
علم از اسباب تقویم خودی است

Knowledge is an instrument for the protection of life:
Knowledge is a means of strengthening the Self

نقطهٔ نوری که نام او خودی است
زیر خاک ما شرار زندگی است

از محبّت می شود پاینده تر
زنده تر، سوزنده تر، تابنده تر

The point of light, which is called Self,
Is the spark of life beneath our dust.
By love it is made more lasting,
More living, more burning, more effulgent.

کیمیا پیدا کن از مشت گلی
بوسه زن بر آستان کاملی

Procure alchemy (gold) out of a handful of dust,
Kiss the threshhold of a Perfect Man.

The Poet's conception of a Perfect Man has a reference to the Holy Prophet:

در دل مسلم مقام مصطفیٰ است
آبروی ما ز نام مصطفیٰ است

The heart of the Muslim is the abode of Mustafa,
Our glory is due to the name of Mustafa (Muhammad).

ای خنک آن تشنه کاندر آفتاب
می نخواهد از خضر یک جام آب

Happy is the man who, though thirsty in the sun,
Does not beg ot Khizr a cup of water.

از محبت چون خودی محکم شود
قوتش فرمانده عالم شود

When the Self is strengthened by love,
Its power gains dominion over the world.

گوسفندی در لباس آدم است
حکم او بر جان صوفی محکم است

He (Plato) is a sheep in the garb of man,
His order dominates the soul of the Sufi.

وای قومی کز اجل گیرد برات
شاعرش وا بوسد از ذوق حیات

Woe to the nation that gives itself up to death,
And its poet turns away from (loses a taste for) life!

در اطاعت کوش اے غفلت شعار
می شود از جبر پیدا اختیار

Strive for obedience, O heedless!
Compulsion leads to option.

هر که بر خود نیست فرمانش روان
می شود فرمان پذیر از دیگران

Whosoever does not govern himself,
He shall be governed by others.

نائب حق در جهان بودن خوش است
بر عناصر حکمران بودن خوش است

It is good to be the Representative of God,
It is good to rule over the elements.

هر که خنجر بهر غیر الله کشید
تیغ او در سینهٔ او آرمید

Whosoever draws the sword for anything else but God
His sword rests in his own heart.

RUMUZ-I-BEKHUDI

INDIVIDUALLY, a man is a unit of human society. It is the primary duty of man to look after himself as a single entity—the Ego. *Asrar-i-Khudi* deals with the expression of the Self. Beyond the circle of the Ego is the wider circle of society, where the individual enters a wider self, and merges into the society, and contributes to the conception of "National Self," as Iqbal calls it. *Rumuz-i-Bekhudi* (the Mysteries of Selflessness)

deals with the life of a society or nation. Its principles are of universal application, but the poet refers to the life of the Islamic community and aims at the creation of a stable basis (through unity) of the social edifice.

The following are the subjects of discussion in *Rumuz-i-Bekhudi*:

Society owes its existence to the mutual contact of individuals, and its perfection depends on prophethood. Among the fundamental pillars of the Islamic nation, the first pillar is Unity. Despair, grief and fear are the root-causes of all evil and destroy life. Unity removes all these maladies. The second pillar is Prophethood. The chief aim of Muhammad's prophethood is the formation and foundation of freedom, equality and brotherhood of mankind. As Muhammadan society is based on Unity and Prophethood, it is not confined to any particular place. The 'native land' is not the basis of Islamic Society (Millat). The Islamic society has no time limit as well, because the eternity of this noble society is *promised.* The national system does not come into existence without a code, and the code of the Islamic people is the holy Quran. During a period of deterioration *taqlid* (imitation) is better than *Ijtihad* (innovation). The stability of national character depends upon following the Divine Code. The beauty of national character depends upon adopting the manners of the holy Prophet

Muhammad. The national life demands a perceptible centre and the centre for all Islamic people is the holy Kaaba.

True solidarity depends on a national goal; the goal for the Muhammadan people is the protection and propagation of Unity. The extension of national life depends on the conquest of the forces of the world system. The perfection of national life is that the nation should, like an individual, have the conception of the Self and the creation and perfection of this conception becomes possible by the preservation of national traditions. Preservation of the human race depends on motherhood and the protection and respect for motherhood is the genuine (root of) Islam.

Fatima (Our Lady of Paradise) is a perfect example for the Muslim women.

The following verses explain the meaning of *Rumuz-i-Bekhudi*:

فرد را ربط جماعت رحمت است
جوهر او را کمال از ملت است

The connection of an individual with society, is a boon;
Its Reality attains perfection through society (Millat).

فرد تا اندر جماعت گم شود
قطرهٔ وسعت طلب قلزم شود

When the individual loses his entity in a society,
The drop that seeks vastness turns into the Red Sea.

فطرتش وا رفتۂ یکتائی است
حفظ او از انجمن آرائی است

His nature is mad after 'oneness,'
His protection is due to his appearance in society.

در جہان کیف و کم گر دید عقل
پے بہ منزل برد از توحید عقل

Wisdom wandered in the world of 'how and how much',
It reached the goal through Unity.

مرگ را سامان ز قطع ارزو است
زندگانی محکم از لا تقنطوا است

Lack of desire is a means to death,
Life is stable through "Do not despair!"

حق تعالیٰ پیکر ما افرید
و ز رسالت در تن ما جاں رمید

God Almighty created our body,
And through prophethood gave us a life.

جوهر ما با مقامے بستہ نیست
بادۂ تندش بجامے بستہ نیست

Our Reality is not confined to a place,
Its strong wine is not confined to the cup

تا وطن را شمع محفل ساختند
نوع انساں را قبائل ساختند

Since they have made 'native land' the candle of the Assembly,
Human race has been divided into tribes.

ملتے را رفت چوں ائیں ز دست
مثل خاک اجزائے او ز هم شکست

When a nation loses its code,
Like dust, its particles break away.

راہ آبا رو کہ این جمعیت است
معنی تقلید ضبط ملت است

Follow the path of thy ancestors, for that is solidarity,
The meaning of *taqlid* is the preservation of the nation.

زاجتهاد عالمان کم نظر
اقتدا بر رفتگان محفوظ تر

Than the *Ijtihad* of the short-sighted Ulema,
It is safer to follow the example of those who have passed

طینت پاک مسلمان گوهر است
آب و تابش از یم پیغمبر است

The sacred nature of the Muslim is like a pearl,
All its lustre is due to the ocean of the Prophet.

ما سوا از بهر تسخیر است و بس
سینهٔ او عرضهٔ تیر است و بس

Everything. besides God is to be conquered,
Its bosom is the target of an arrow—that's all.

پوشش عریانی مردان زن است
حسن دلجو عشق را پیراهن است

Woman is a garment for the nakedness of men
Her ravishing beauty is the attire for love.

PIAM-I-MASHRIQ

THE causes which led to the writing of the *Piam-i-Mashriq* (the Message of the East) may better be stated in the words of the poet himself.

Piam-i-Mashriq (says Iqbal in his preface) was written in response to the German 'Philosopher of Life,' Goethe's Western Diwan—which in the

words of the Israelite poet of Germany, Heine, is a 'bouquet of feelings of admiration sent by the West to the East.'

Goethe from his early youth was inclined to Eastern thought. In 1812, von Heimer published the full translation of the Diwan of Khwaja Hafiz and this translation laid the foundation of the Oriental Movement in German literature. Goethe was then 65 years of age and this was the time, when the degradation of the German nation had reached its lowest ebb. Goethe's nature was not suited to take a practical part in the political movements of his country and being disgusted with the disturbed conditions of Europe, he found for himself a blissful abode in the Eastern atmosphere; the melody of Hafiz caused a great commotion in the waters of his thought which eventually took the stable form of his "Western Diwan".

The aim of the *Piam-i-Mashriq* is to present moral, religious and national truths, which have their relation with the inner development of individuals and nations.

There is a certain resemblance between the conditions prevailing in Germany a hundred years ago and the present state of the East. But the truth is that this internal discontentment of the nations of the world, the real importance of which, we are unable to realise for the mere reason that we are ourselves affected by it, is a sign of a great

spiritual and cultural change. The Great War was a world-shaking event, which destroyed the systems of the old world and now nature is busy in building in life, a new world for the inhabitation of modern man, out of the ashes of old civilization and culture, a dim picture of which may be observed in the writings of Einstein and Bergson.

The East (particularly the Muslim East) has opened its eyes after a continuous sleep of centuries. The nations of the West realise that life cannot cause a change, until there is a change in its inner depths, and no new world can come into existence, unless it takes a form in the human mind. This simple law of nature which is expressed by the Quran in the simple words:—

ان الله لا يغير مابقوم حتیٰ يغيروا ما بانفسهم

—governs all the individual and social aspects of life and I (the poet) have endeavoured in my Persian writings to keep the same truth in view.

The *Piam* was dedicated to Amanullah Khan, the ex-King of Afghanistan. *Peshkash*—a present, as the introductory verses are entitled, explains the reason for writing the *Piam*. The difference between Goethe and Iqbal is :

او چمن زادے چمن پروردۂ
من دمیدم از زمین مردۂ

He (Goethe) was born in the garden and nourished by the garden,
I sprang up from a dead soil.

The poet is conscious of the conditions around him :

از هنر سرمایه دارم کرده اند
در دیار هند خوارم کرده اند
لاله و گل از نوایم بے نصیب
طائرم در گلستان خود غریب!
بسکه گردوں سفله و دوں پرور است
وائے بر مردے که صاحب جوهر است

They have made me wealthy by art,
But have exposed me to insult in the Indian realm.
The tulip and rose unfortunately take no benefit of my song.
I am a bird, a stranger in my own garden !
Since, the sky is mean and a patron of the low.
Woe to the person who is a man of skill !

The *Piam* has many parts. *Lala-i-Tur* (The Tulip of Mount Sinai) covers one hundred and sixty-three quatrains which disclose various secret truths about love, life, and its problems.

Afkar (Thoughts) includes many beautiful poems such as *Taskhir-i-Fitrat* (Conquest of Nature), *Fasl-i-Bahar* (The Spring Season), *Sarod-i-Anjum* (The Song of Stars), *Kirm-i-Kitabi* (The Book Worm), *Hudi* (The Song of a Camel-Driver), *Kashmir* and *Ghani Kashmiri.*

Mai-i-Baqi (The Residuary Wine) is a collection of *ghazals* of a high standard, written after the style of the great masters of Persian verse.

Naqsh-i-Frang contains verses on European problems and great men of the continent, such as

Schopenhauer, Nietzsche, Einstein, Hegel, Bergson and Lenin.

Khurda (The Ruby Wine) is the concluding portion of the book with a miscellany of verse.

The teachings of *Piam-i-Mashriq* are reflected in the following verses:

ترا از خویشتن بیگانه سازد
من آن آبی طربناکی ندارم
ببازارم مجو دیگر متاعی
چو گل جز سینه چاکی ندارم

That makes thee a stranger to thyself,
I have no such pleasure-giving *water*,
In my bazaar do not look for any other property,
Like a flower, I have nothing but a wounded breast

من از بود و نبود خود خموشم
اگر گویم که هستم خود پرستم
ولیکن این نوای سادهٔ کیست
کسی در سینه می گوید که هستم

I am silent as to my existence or non-existence.
If I say 'I am,' I am a worshipper of the Self.
But whose simple voice is it?
Some one in my breast says 'I am'

بدریا غلط و باموجش در آویز
حیات جاودان اندر ستیز است

Come into conflict with the sea and get entangled with its wave,
For, eternal life is in conflict,

سکندر رفت و شمشیر و علم رفت
خراج شهر و گنج کان و یم رفت

امم را از شهان پاینده تر دان
نمی بینی که ایران ماند و جم رفت

Alexander is gone, the sword and banner are no more,
The tribute of the city and the treasures of the mine and sea are no more.
Know thou, the nations to be more lasting than the kings,
Dost thou not see that Iran has remained and Jamshid is no more?

حجره نشینی گزار ' گوشهٔ صحرا گزین
بر لب جوئے نشین
آب رواں را بہ بین
نرگس ناز آفرین
لخت دل فروردین
بوسه زنش بر جبین
حجره نشینی گزار ' گوشهٔ صحرا گزین

Refrain from reposing in the chamber, occupy a corner in the Sahara!
Sit on the bank of a stream,
Look at the flowing water,
The narcissus, with its airs and graces,
A piece of the heart of Farvadin,
Print a kiss on her forehead,
Refrain from reposing in the chamber, occupy a corner in the Sahara!

بخود خزیده و محکم چو کوهساران زی
چو خس مزی که هوا تیز و شعله بیباک است

Live like the mountains stuck fast and delved into the self,

Do not live like a straw, for the wind is violent and the flame is fearless.

تپش می کند زنده تر زندگی را
تپش می دهد بال و پر زندگی را

Restlessness makes life more alive :
Agitation gives wings to life.

ناقهٔ سیّار من
آهوئے تاتار من
درهم و دینار من
اندک و بسیار من
دولت بیدار من
تیز ترک گام زن ۔ منزل ما دور نیست

O my strolling dromedary!
My Tartar deer
My *Drachma* and *Dinar*
My 'little and much',
My wakeful property,
Step a little faster, our goal is not so far!

ساحل افتاده گفت گرچه بسے زیستم
هیچ نه معلوم شد آه که من چیستم
موج ز خود رفتهٔ تیز خرامید و گفت
هستم اگر میروم گر نروم نیستم!

The humble coast said, "Although I have lived so long,
Ah! Little have I known what I am."
The mad wave rolled fast and said,
"I am, if I roll; if I don't, I am not."

آدم از بے بصری بندگی آدم کرد
گوهرے داشت ولے نذر قباد و جم کرد
یعنی از خوئے غلامی ز سگاں خوار تر است
من ندیدم که سگے پیش سگے سر خم کرد

Through blindness Adam became a slave to Adam
He had a pearl but presented it to Kubad and Jamshid,
It is on account of his slavish nature, that he is more miserable than a dog,
I have never seen a dog bowing his head before another dog.

گریز از طرز جمہوری غلام پختہ کارے شو
کہ از مغز دو صد خر فکر انسانی نمی آید

Run away from the democratic form (of government), be a slave to a Wise One,
For even the brain of two hundred asses, does not produce the thought of a man.

بہار برگ پراگندہ را بہم بر بست
نگاہ ماست کہ بر لالہ رنگ و آب افزود

Spring brought together the scattered leaves,
It is our vision that has added colour and lustre to the poppy.

بخاک ہند نوائے حیات بے اثر است
کہ مردہ زندہ نگردد ز نغمۂ داؤد

In the dust of India, the voice of life is ineffective,
For the dead body does not come to life through the song of David.

یک نگہ، یک خندۂ دزدیدہ، یک تابندہ اشک
بہر پیمان محبت نیست سوگندے دگر

A look, a secret smile, a lustrous tear
For the promise of love, there is no other oath.

بہ کیش زندہ دلاں زندگی جفا طلبی است
سفر بکعبہ نکردم کہ راہ بے خطر است

According to the faith of the live-hearted, life is to seek hardships,

I did not undertake a journey to the Kaaba, for the way is (safe) out of danger.

ز خاک خویش بہ تعمیر ادمے برخیز
کہ فرصت تو بقدر تبسم شرر است

Rise to build an Adam out of thy dust
For thy time is momentary like the smile of a spark of fire.

نوائے من بہ عجم اتش کہن افروخت
عرب ز نغمہ شوقم هنوز بے خبر است

My voice has enkindled the old fire in 'Ajam,
Arabia is still ignorant of my passionate song.

تو قدر خویش ندانی بہا ز تو گیرد
وگرنہ لعل درخشندہ پارۂ سنگ است

Thou knowest not thy own value—it takes its price from thee
Otherwise, the luminous ruby is only a piece of stone.

آشنا ہر خار را از قصہ ما ساختی
در بیابان جنون بردی و رسوا ساختی

Thou hast made every thorn intimate with our story,
Thou hast taken us to a wilderness of madness and humiliated us.

اگرچہ زادۂ ہندم فروغ چشم من است
ز خاک پاک بخارا و کابل و تبریز!

Although I am born in India, the light of my eye is
From the sacred dust of Bukhara, Kabul and Tabriz!

چشم بکشائے اگر چشم تو صاحب نظر است
زندگی در پئے تعمیر جہان دگر است

Open thy eye, if thy eye can see.
Life is after creating another world.

ندارد کار با دوں همتاں عشق
تدرو مرده را شاهیں نگیرد

Love has no business with the faint-hearted,
The falcon does not catch the dead partridge.

ZABUR-I-'AJAM

Zabur-i-'Ajam (The Psalms of Persia) is another famous work of Iqbal which comprises two parts of *ghazals*, *Gulshan-i-Raz-i-Jadid* (The New Garden of Secrets) and *Bandagi Nama* (The Book of Slavery).

Zabur-i-'Ajam aims at the creation of a new spirit in the rising youth — جوانان نو نیاز and the awakening of Islamic lands. *Zabur* is a familiar word from *Zabur-i-Daud*. The Psalms of David are reputed to have a revivifying effect,

خاکم به نور نغمۀ داؤد بر فروز

—'Light up my dust with the light of David's song.' The word *'Ajam* is used for all lands other than Arabia (particularly Persia). As the secrets of Roum and Tabriz are intimately known to the poet, the meaning of *Zabur-i-'Ajam* is clear enough. The *ghazals* of the *Zabur* represent a wide range and a high standard of Persian lyricism.

Gulshan-i-Raz (*Jadid*) is written in response to *Gulshan-i-Raz* of Mahmud Shabistri—a treatise, well-known in mystic literature. It was originally written in answer to nine questions put forth by a Sufi. In the twentieth century, Iqbal undertook to answer the nine original questions in the light of

modern thought, hence the name of Iqbal's work—*Gulshan-i-Raz (Jadid)*.

Bandagi Nama (The Book of Slavery) is an equally important part of the book. It describes the evil effects of slavery:

از غلامی دل بمیرد در بدن   از غلامی روح گردد بار تن

The heart dies in the body, due to slavery,
Thus the soul becomes a burden to the body.

The most interesting part of *Bandagi Nama* is the description of the fine arts of the slave nations and their religion.

The spirit of *Zabur-i-'Ajam* shines through the following verses:

یارب درون سینه دل باخبر بده
در باده نشه را نگرم آن نظر بده

O God! give me a well-informed heart in my breast,
Grant me a sight that sees intoxication in wine!

خاکم به نور نغمهٔ داؤد برفروز   هر ذرهٔ مرا پر و بال شرر بده

Light up my dust with the light of David's song.
Give every particle of wine the wings of a spark of fire!

به نیستان عجم باد صبحدم تیز است
شرارهٔ که فرو می چکد ز ساز آور

The morning wind blows fast in the reeds of 'Ajam
Produce the spark that (flies) trickles down the instrument.

ریگ عراق منتظر کشت حجاز تشنه کام
خون حسین باز ده کوفه و شام خویش را

The sands of Iraq are waiting—and the crop of Hejaz is thirsty,

Give again the blood of Husain to thy Kufa and Sham.

ان فقر کہ بے تیغے صد کشور دل گیرد
از شوکت دارا بہ از فر فریدوں بہ

The contentment (Faqr) which conquers a hundred lands without the sword
Is far better than the glory of Darius and the grandeur of Faridun.

یا مسلماں را مدہ فرماں کہ جاں برکف بنہ
یا دریں فرسودہ پیکر تازہ جانے آفریں
یا چناں کن یا چنیں

Do not command the Muslim to place his soul on the palm of his hand!
Or, create a fresh soul in his antique body—
Do it, this way or that!

او بیک دانۂ گندم بزمینم انداخت
تو بیک جرعۂ آب آنسوئے افلاک انداز

He, with a single grain of wheat threw me on the earth,
Throw (Thou) me with a single draught of *water* on the other side of the skies.

از من بروں نیست منزلگہ من   من بے نصیبم راہے نیابم

My abode is not outside myself,
I am unlucky, I do not find the way.

فرصت کشمکش مدہ ایں دل بے قرار را
یک دو شکن زیادہ کن گیسوئے تابدار را

Let not the restless heart be free from struggle,
Add one or two curls to the curled up locks!

فتنۂ را کہ دو صد فتنہ بآغوشش بود
دخترے هست کہ درمهد فرنگ است هنوز

The disorder that had two hundred mischiefs in its bosom
Has a daughter which is yet in the cradle of Europe.

تا تو بیدار شوی ناله کشیدم ورنه
عشق کاریست که بے آه و فغاں نیز کنند!

So that you may wake up, I wept aloud—
Love is a task which is performed without a sigh or a cry.

عمرها در کعبه و بتخانه می نالد حیات
تا ز بزم عشق یک دانائے راز آید بروں!

Life weeps in the Kaaba and idol-house for many ages
Till, from the Assembly of love comes out a Wise One.

گفتند جهان ما آیا بتو می سازد؟
گفتم که نمی سازد گفتند که برهم زن!

They said, "Is our world agreeable to you?"
I said, "No," they said, "Upset it!"

زمیں به پشت خود الوند و بے ستوں دارد
غبار ماست که بر دوش او گراں بود است

The earth bears on its back, the Behistun and the Alwand
It is our dust which is heavy on its shoulder.

خواجه از خون رگ مزدور سازد لعل ناب
از جفائے ده خدایاں کشت دهقاناں خراب

انقلاب!

انقلاب! اے انقلاب!

The master makes a pure ruby of the blood of the labourer's vein
Due to the high-handedness of landlords the peasant's farm is laid waste.

Change!

Change! O, Change!

خود را کنم سجودے دیر و حرم نمانده
ایں در عرب نمانده آں در عجم نمانده

I bow my head in prayer to myself, the temple and the mosque are no more extant,
This is no more in Arabia, that is no more in Persia.

شرارے جستہ گیر از درونم
کہ من مانند رومی گرم خونم
وگرنہ اتش از تہذیب نوگیر
برون خود بیفروز اندرون میر

Take a spark, sprung up from my heart,
For I am hot-blooded like Rumi
Otherwise, take the fire from the new civilisation—
Light up thy outside and die within.

مرگ ها اندر فنون بندگی   من چہ گویم از فنون بندگی

There are deaths in the arts of slavery,
The magic of slavery is indescribable.

دین و دانش را غلام ارزاں دہد   تا بدن را زندہ دارد جاں دہد

The slave gives away his religion and wisdom—so cheap,
So that he might be able to keep his body alive—he gives his soul.

JAVID NAMA

Javid Nama (The Book of Eternity) one of Iqbal's later Persian works was published in 1932.

It is said that Iqbal had an idea to write a *Mi'raj Nama* after the style of *Gulshan-i-Raz (Jadid)* with a view to throw light on the Ascension of the Prophet to the heavens in relation to modern thought. But in the meantime a good deal of valuable criticism on the famous Italian poet Dante's (Dante Alighieri, 1265-1321) *Divine Comedy* was published which proved to the hilt that the whole

of the celestial plot of Dante's work was directly based on the events that have been described in the traditions of the Holy Prophet Muhammad, in connection with his Ascension mainly copied from *Futuhat* of Ibn-i-Arabi. This diverted Iqbal's attention to describe "Iqbal's Ascension" after the style of Dante from a literary point of view—to enjoy the height of flight of thought and vision.

The title of *Javid Nama* to a great extent suggests that it is after the name of Javid Iqbal, the younger son of Iqbal. In this sense there is a supplement to *Javid Nama* which is particularly addressed to Javid and the younger generation.

Divine Comedy, one of the great epics of the world was called by Dante simply *Comedia*, because the book ends happily. As the book grew popular, the word 'Divine' was added by Dante's admirers, later on. It is divided into three parts—L'Inferno, Il Purgatorio, and Il Paradiso and describes the poet's journey, who passes through Hell and Purgatory with Vergil as his guide, and Beatrice conducts him through Paradise. She was a Florentine lady of a noble family whom Dante loved. The theme of Dante's *Vita Nuova* (New Life) is his idealized love for her. After her death, the poet's love assumed a supernatural and mystical form and he made her the central figure of the *Divine Comedy*

During his visit to the various planets Iqbal is accompanied by Rumi (Jalal-ud-Din Rumi, the famous

mystic saint) as Dante was guided by Vergil.

Like Dante, Iqbal presents in *Javid Nama* his views on all what was happening around him, exposing the ostensibly invisible truths of life, and fearlessly criticises the modern age.

Javid Nama opens with a short preface of two verses which refer to the possibility of life in other planets before man reaches the Eternal Region. The idea is not far from the scientific theories relating to life on Mars and other planets and is equally based on the suggestions of the Prophet's interviews with so many prophets on his ascension.

گمان مبر که همین خاکدان نشیمن ماست
که هر ستاره جهان است یا جهان بود است

Do not think that this earth is our only abode,
Every star is a world or has been a world.

The poet has no faith in the old genaration and prays:

بر جوانان سهل کن حرف مرا　　بهر شان پایاب کن ژرف مرا

Make my word easy for the young men,
Make my deep fordable for them.

In the "Heavenly Introduction" the sky censures the earth to the effect that dust, even though it be Alwand, is nothing but dust and is in no case as bright and stable as the sky. The earth being ashamed, complains to God and the complaisant voice from the other side of the sky was heard:

اے امینی از امانت بے خبر　　غم مخور اندر ضمیر خود نگر

O trustee! ignorant of the trust,
Do not feel aggrieved, look into your mind.

Towards the end of the " Earthly Introduction " is the explanation of the secrets of the Prophet's Ascension by Rumi who accompanied the poet on his visit to the heavens.

Just before the start, the poet (thirsty and) 'far from the bank of the spring' was singing a *ghazal* of Rumi, till the sun set and Rumi appeared :

روح رومی پرده‌ها را بردرید　　از پس که پارهٔ امد پدید

The soul of Rumi tore the veils,
And from behind the mountain a *piece* appeared.

The poet asks him many philosophical questions as to موجود (Existent) and ناموجود (Non-existent) the soul of Rumi answers them. The poet further requests Rumi to illustrate the ultimate Self. Rumi's illuminating conversation incites the poet to a heavenly flight. In the meantime, the spirit of 'Time and Space'—*Zarwan* as it is called by the poet appears in the form of an angel. In this part the poet elucidates the conceptions of time and space and its reality as presented by the Quran and the Prophet's traditions.

The poet now starts his ascension and approaches the moon first. Rumi shows the poet forbidding mountains. In a cave of the moon they meet an ancient sage from India, whom the Indians call— جهان دوست (وشوامتر). He puts many questions to Rumi :

چیست عالم ؟ چیست آدم ؟ چیست حق ؟

What is Universe ? What is Adam ? What is Reality ?

The poet and his guide then enter the valley Yarghamid also called the valley of Tawasin (the name of Mansur-i-Hallaj's book, and the name of several *Suras* in the Quran). The teachings of prophets are, made clear on tablets in the moon.

After that the poet and Rumi reach the planet Mercury. Here they meet the souls of Jamal-ud-Din Afghani and Said Halim Pasha (the Grand Vizier of Turkey). During the conversation Rumi introduces, Iqbal to Afghani as Zinda Rod (Living Stream). Afghani makes enquiries about the Islamic countries and the present conditions of the Muslims. Zinda Rod gives a reply and then Afghani explains the true meaning of religion and native-land and cleverly exposes Socialism and Imperialism :

صاحب سرمایه از نسل خلیل
یعنی ان پیغمبر بے جبرئیل
زانکه حق در باطل او مضمر است
قلب او مومن دماغش کافر است
غربیان گم کرده اند افلاک را
در شکم جویند جان پاک را
رنگ و بو از تن نگیرد جان پاک
جز بتن کارے ندارد اشتراک

(Reference to Karl Marx)
The author of *The Capital* from the race of Abraham,
That is—the prophet *sans* Gabriel,
As truth is mixed with his untruth,
His heart is a believer and his brain a non-believer,
The Westerners have lost the heavens,

They see the sacred soul in the stomach,
The holy soul does not take 'colour and smell' from the body
Socialism has no business, but with the body.

Sa'id Halim Pasha explains the difference between the East and the West:

غربیان را زیرکی ساز حیات   شرقیان را عشق راز کائنات

With the Westerners, wisdom is the instrument of life,
The Easterners take love as the secret of this world.

There is a reference to Mustafa Kemal (Ataturk):

ترک را آهنگ نو در چنگ نیست
تازه‌اش جز کهنهٔ افرنگ نیست

The Turk has no new note in the lute,
His 'fresh' is nothing but the 'old' of Europe,

Afghani then describes his views on Vicegerency of Adam and Divine Government. . The earth belongs to God and wisdom is beneficial.

Halim Pasha again speaks:

دین کافر فکر و تدبیر و جهاد   دین ملا فی سبیل الله فساد

The religion of the Unbeliever is thought plan and Jihad.
The Mulla's religion is disorder in the name of God.

Then there is a message from Afghani to the Russian people Afghani further asks Zinda Rod to recite a verse and the latter sings a *ghazal*.

The poet and Rumi then arrive at the planet Venus. Rumi says, "Do you want another world? —Here it is." The poet found there the old gods—

Baal and others (some known, some created by the poet's imagination). They all believe that they have come to *life* again as the age was without a Khalil or a Butshikan.

Baal sings a message of hope. He assures his comrades "that a good time is coming" and thanks Europe:

زنده باد افرنگی مشرق شناس   آنکه مارا از لحد بیرون کشید

> Long live the European who knows the East!
> And has dragged us out from the depth of the grave.

The travellers now see the souls of Pharaoh and Lord Kitchener in the depths of a river in Venus, because both were drowned in the sea. Both of them look at each other with wonder. Pharaoh then asks Rumi as to how (the morning) the stream of light appeared in the depths of the sea. Rumi explains:

هرچه پنهان است ازو پیداستی
اصل این نور از ید بیضاستی!

> All that is hidden, is revealed through Him,
> The origin of this light is from the White Hand.

Sometime after, the soul of the Dervish of the Sudan comes flying from Paradise and addresses Kitchener:

گفت اے کشنر! اگر داری نظر   انتقام خاک درویشے نگر!

> Said, "O Kitchener, if thou hast sight,
> Watch the revenge of the dust of the Dervish!"

Here is the message given by the Mehdi of the Sudan to the people of Arabia and Africa:

گفت اے روح عرب بیدار شو چوں نیا گاں خالق اعصار شو

Said, "Wake up, O Spirit of Arabia!
Like thy ancestors (as in times past) be a creator of ages!

From the planet Venus the travellers move to Mars. Hakim Mirrikhi is the creation of the poet's power of imagination. The Hakim is an astrologer and has widely travelled. He informs the travellers that the place where they are, is in the environs of Marghdin. Here Zinda Rod enters into a dialogue with Hakim Mirrikhi on questions of Fate and Effort—تقدیر و تدبیر. and he illustrates his viewpoint.

After passing countless places, the travellers reach a city. On one side of the city, there is a multitude of people. A woman is delivering a speech. Apparently her face is instinct with life but her body is totally devoid of spiritual light Her words are unimpressive and her eyes are dry—she abhors man's company. The sagacious Hakim informs the travellers that the young girl is not from the planet Mars but has been brought here by Farzmurz from Europe so that she might influence the women of Mars as well. Farzmurz trained her to be a prophetess, but she now maintains that she has been sent from the heavens as a warning.

Next, they move to the planet Jupiter where they come across the souls of Mansur-i-Hallaj, Ghalib, and Qurrat-ul-Ain, the well-known poetess of Persia. "The Voice of Tahira" is the beautiful

poem of the poetess:

از پئے دیدن رخت همچو صبا فتاده ام
خانه بخانه در بدر کوچه بکوچه کو بکو!

In order to see thy face, like the zephyr I am fallen,
(From) house to house, door to door, street to street and lane to lane!

Mansur also sheds light on *An'-al-Haq*. According to the poet the cry of *An'-al-Haq* was the demonstration of the Self in the extreme sense. Mansur asks Iqbal to be cautious:

آنچه من کردم توهم کردی بترس

What I have done, thou hast also done, Beware!

At the end of these questions, Satan appears.

In the planet Saturn, the poet discusses the various aspects of the past and present politics of India. Saturn is regarded by the poet as the abode of those mean souls which, on account of their faithlessness to their country and people, were not admitted by hell.

The two Taghuts are:

جعفر از بنگال و صادق از دکن
ننگ آدم، ننگ دین، ننگ وطن

Jaffar from Bengal and Sadiq from the Deccan—
Insult to Adam, insult to religion, insult to the native-land!

Jaffar proved faithless to Nawab Siraj-ud-Daula and Sadiq proved false to Tippu Sultan.

Then appears the Soul of India wailing, and the poet discusses the causes of the slavery of India

and other political questions.

The last flight is supposed to be on to the other side of the skies, but before going there, they visit another world where a man is moaning. The poet questioned Rumi:

من به رومی گفتم این دیوانه کیست؟
گفت این فرزانهٔ المانوی است

I said to Rumi, "Who is this mad man?"
He said, "This is the Wise Man of Germany."

The poet takes him to be a Mansur of his time, but no one understood him. He discussed Christianity and could not find his way to Unity. It is true he revolted against the current beliefs of Europe but himself fell a victim to his own imagination:

مستی او هر زجاجے را شکست   از خدا ببرید و هم از خود گسست

His intoxication broke every glass,
He cut himself away from God and from himself, too.

The travellers now reach the region of Eternity beyond the Universe The question of time and space again springs up.

Here the first palace which was sighted was that of Sharaf-un-Nisa Begum, the daughter of Nawab Khan Bahadur Khan and the grand-daughter of Nawab Abdus Samad Khan. The two Nawabs were the governors of the Punjab in the times of Bahadur Shah and Shah Alam. In those days, the Government House of the Punjab was on the site where there is now situated Begumpura, a village lying towards the north of the road leading to the Shalamar

Gardens. Begumpura takes its name after the wife of Nawab Abdus Samad Khan. The old Government House is still traceable in the ruined buildings, mosques and mausoleums. Among these is the grave of Sharaf-un-Nisa Begum. She had built a raised platform in the royal palace. A ladder was used to ascend it As a rule she used to read the Holy Quran on the platform after the morning prayers. She had a sword too. After she had finished her daily reading, she used to leave the Quran there with the sword. While dying, she requested to be buried under the platform and the Quran and sword to be placed there. According to her wishes she was buried there and a dome was raised. The Quran and the sword were preserved there till 1845-46, when a Sikh Sardar ascended the grave and had it opened, hoping to find treasure in it. He found nothing, but removed the Quran and the sword :

مومناں را تیغ با قرآن بس است تربت مارا همین ساماں بس است

> A sword with the Quran is sufficient for the faithful,
> These very appurtenances are sufficient for my grave.

خالصه شمشیر و قرآں را ببرد اندراں کشور مسلمانی بمرد

> Khalsa carried away the sword and the Quran,
> In that land, Muhammadanism died.

After visiting the palace of Sharaf-un-Nisa, they met Syed Ali Hamadani and Mulla Tahir Ghani of Kashmir, and then a question is put to India's ancient poet Bhartari Hari. "What is verse?"

Passing this scene, they meet Nadir Shah Abdali and the martyr king—Tippu Sultan. Nadir enquires about the present condition of the Persians, Abdali delivers a message to the Afghan nation and warns them against Europeanisation after the manner of the Turks. Tippu Sultan gives a message to Zinda Rod.

The last scenes at the time of leaving Paradise are touching. The houris ask Iqbal to recite a verse. Then there is *Huzur* and *Nida-i-Jamal*:

آں نگینے کہ تو با اہرمناں باختہ
هم بجبریل امینے نتواں کرد گرو

That precious stone, set in the ring, which thou hast lost to the devils
Could not be mortgaged even to Gabriel.

The last portion of the book—خطاب بہ جاوید is addressed to the modern generation and incorporates the Poet's advice to young men:

در رہ دیں سخت چوں الماس زی
دل بحق بر بند و بے وسواس زی

In the path of religion, become hard, like diamond;
Attach thy heart to God and live fearlessly!

گر نیابی صحبت مرد خبیر از اب وجد آنچہ من دارم بگیر

If thou dost not find (enlightenment in) the society of a man of knowledge,
Take from me what I have from my ancestors!

BAL-I-JIBRIL

THE poet had been so far more concerned with Persian poetry. He now turned his attention to Urdu and published a collection of his Urdu poems entitled

Bal-i-Jibril (The Wing of Gabriel) in 1935.

The first part of *Bal-i-Jibril* contains sixty-one *ghazals* and a few quatrains. The second part opens with a prayer in the Cordova mosque and other poems written in Spain. Besides, there are miscellaneous poems, most of them topical with reference to men and events in the contemporary world, such as "Lenin (in the presence of God), To Javid, The Mulla and Paradise, Politics and Religion, To a Young Man, Philosopy and Religion, Mussolini, To the Punjab Peasants, Khushhal Khan's Will, A Tartar's Dream, etc."

Bal-i-Jibril is a very inspiring book and reaches a high standard in the domain of Urdu poetry. The style and form of *ghazal* has been used in the first part to convey deeper truths and visions. The following verses are notable:

گرچہ ہے میری جستجو دیر و حرم کی نقشبند
میری فغاں سے رستخیز کعبہ و سومنات میں

Although my Search is the painter of the temple and the mosque,
There is Resurrection in the Kaaba and Somnat on account of my plaint.

جوانوں کو مری آہ سحر دے
پھر ان شاہیں بچوں کو بال و پر دے

Give the young men my morning sigh!
Give again wings to these young ones of the falcon!

کرم تیرا کہ بے جوہر نہیں میں غلام طغرل و سنجر نہیں میں
جہاں بینی میری فطرت ہے لیکن کسی جمشید کا ساغر نہیں میں

It is thy benevolence that I am not without merit,
I am not a slave of a Tughril or any Sanjar,
It is my nature to see the world,
But I am not a Cup of any Jamshid.

گزر اوقات کر لیتا ھے یہ کوہ و بیابان میں
کہ شاھیں کے لئے ذلت ھے کار آشیاں بندی

It passes its time in the mountains and wilderness,
It is a disgrace for a falcon to build a nest.

زیارت گاہ اھل عزم و ھمت ھے لحد میری
کہ خاک راہ کو میں نے بتایا راز الوندی

My grave is the shrine of men of courage and determination,
For I have taught the dust of the path the secret of being Alwand,

پرانے ھیں یہ ستارے فلک بھی فرسودہ
جہاں وہ چاھئے مجھ کو کہ ھو ابھی نوخیز

These stars are old and the sky is ancient,
I want a world--newly sprung

بھروسہ کر نہیں سکتے غلاموں کی بصیرت پر
کہ دنیا میں فقط مردان حر کی آنکھ بینا ھے

(We) cannot trust the (inner) sight of slaves,
Only the freemen's eye can see in this world

The prayer in the Cordova mosque:

ھے یہی میری نماز ھے یہی میرا وضو
میری نواؤں میں ھے میرے جگر کا لہو
راہ محبت میں ھے کون کسی کا رفیق
ساتھ میرے رہ گئی ایک مری آرزو
میرا نشیمن نہیں درگہ میر و وزیر
میرا نشیمن بھی تو شاخ نشیمن بھی تو
پاس اگر تو نہیں شہر ھے ویراں تمام
تو ھے تو آباد ھیں اجڑے ھوئے کاخ و کو!

This is my prayer: This is my ablution,
My songs contain the blood of my heart,
Who is one's companion in the path of love?
The only thing that remained with me is my desire.
My abode is not the chamber of a noble or a vizier.
Thou art my abode· Thou art the branch of my abode (nest)!
If Thou art not with me, the city is desolate,
With Thee are populated the ruined palaces and lanes!

Written in Spain (Cordova):

سلسلۂ روز و شب نقش گر حادثات
سلسلۂ روز و شب اصل حیات و ممات

The continuation of day and night is the creator of events
The link of day and night is the root of life and death.

نقطۂ پرکار حق مرد خدا کا یقیں
اور یہ عالم تمام وہم و طلسم و مجاز

The belief of the man of God is the point of the compasses of truth
And this world is all a whim, a talisman and unreal.

اللہ کا سو شکر کہ پروانہ نہیں میں
دریوزہ گر آتش بیگانہ نہیں میں

A hundred thanks to God, I am not a moth,
I am not a beggar of a stranger's fire!

ہوئی نہ زاغ میں پیدا بلند پروازی
خراب کر گئی شاہیں بچے کو صحبت زاغ

The crow could not learn to soar high,
But the company of the crow spoiled the young falcon.

عقابی روح جب بیدار ہوتی ہے جوانوں میں
نظر آتی ہے ان کو اپنی منزل آسمانوں میں

When the eagle spirit wakes up in young men,
They see their goal in the heavens.

تن بے روح سے بیزار ھے حق   خدائے زندہ زندوں کا خدا ھے

God is displeased with the souless body,
The living God is God of the living.

شہید محبت نہ کافر نہ غازی   محبت کی رسمیں نہ ترکی نہ تازی

The martyr of love is neither an infidel, nor a Ghazi,
The customs of love are neither Turkish nor Arabian :

راز ھے راز ھے تقدیر جہان تگ و تاز
جوش کردار سے کھل جاتے ھیں تقدیر کے راز

The destiny of this world of struggle is a secret, a secret,
Zeal for action opens the secrets of destiny.

ZARB-I-KALIM

Zarb-i-Kalim (The Stroke of Moses) which is described by the poet to be a declaration of war against the modern age, was published in 1936. The word *Zarb* consequently stands for a stroke implying force.

On the first page the poet offers the 'Capital of Spring' to His Highness Nawab Sir Hamidullah Khan, the Ruler of Bhopal, with the hope that "the flower might remain fresher in his hand than on the branch."

The book concerns the modern age and its problems—the first portion is devoted to poems on 'Islam and the Muslim' The second deals with 'Teaching and Education'. The third is entitled

'Woman'. The fouth 'Literature and Fine Arts.' This is followed by 'The Politics of the East and West' and the last portion covers the thoughts of Mihrab Gul Afghan.

The book incorporates a variety of topics, but the poems are rather short. The following verses are representative:

نہ دیر میں نہ حرم میں خودی کی بیداری
کہ خاوراں میں ہے قوموں کی روح تریاکی

Neither in the temple nor in the mosque is the awakening of the Self,
As the soul of the nations of East is accustomed to opium

تھا جو 'ناخوب' بتدریج وہی 'خوب' ہوا
کہ غلامی میں بدل جاتا ہے قوموں کا ضمیر

The 'Not-good' has turned into 'Good.'
Because, the conscience of nations changes in slavery!

مقام فکر ہے پیمائش زمان و مکاں مقام ذکر ہے سبحان ربی الاعلیٰ

The stage of Meditation is the measurement of Time and Space,
The stage of Remembrance is "Praise be to my Supreme God!"

زمانہ ایک، حیات ایک، کائنات بھی ایک
دلیل کم نظری قصۂ جدید و قدیم

Time is one, life is one, the Universe is one.
The tale of 'new and old' is the argument of short-sightedness.

روح اسلام کی ہے نور خودی نار خودی
زندگانی کے لئے نار خودی نور و حضور

The light and fire of the Self are the spirit of Islam,
The fire of the Self is Light and Presence for life.

ھے زندہ فقط وحدت افکار سے ملت
وحدت ھو فنا جس سے وہ الہام بھی الحاد

Unity of thought is the very life of a nation,
The revelation which destroys unity is heresy !

کافر کی یہ پہچان کہ آفاق میں گم ھے
مومن کی یہ پہچان کہ گم اس میں ھیں آفاق!

The sign of an infidel is that he is lost in the world,
And the sign of the Faithful is that the world is lost in him !

اے پیر حرم رسم و رہ خانقہی چھوڑ
مقصود سمجھ میری نوائے سحری کا
اللہ رکھے تیرے جوانوں کو سلامت
دے ان کو سبق خود شکنی خود نگری کا
تو ان کو سکھا خارہ شگافی کے طریقے
مغرب نے سکھایا انھیں فن شیشہ گری کا

O old man of the Khankah ! give up the customs of the Khankah,
Follow the meaning of my morning song,
May God grant life to thy young men !
Give them the lesson of breaking the Self and probing the Self.
Teach them the methods of cutting granite,
West has taught them the art of making glass

تقدیر کے پابند نباتات و جمادات
مومن فقط احکام الہی کا ھے پابند!

The plants and minerals are bound by destiny
The Faithful is bound only by the commands of God,

زندہ کر سکتی ھے ایراں کو عرب کو کیونکر
یہ فرنگی مدنیت کہ جو ھے خود لب گور

How can it revive Iran and Arabia,
This Western civilization with one foot in the grave ?

اس قوم کو شمشیر کی حاجت نہیں رهتی
هو جس کے جوانوں کی خودی صورت فولاد

That nation does not stand in need of a sword,
The Self of whose young men is like steel.

خودی کی موت سے هندی شکستہ بالوں پر
قفس هوا هے حلال اور آشیانہ حرام

On account of the death of the Self, for these broken-winged Indians,
The cage has become *lawful* and the haven of rest is *forbidden* !

خدا تجھے کسی طوفاں سے آشنا کر دے
کہ تیرے بحر کی موجوں میں اضطراب نہیں

May God acquaint thee with some storm !
For there is no commotion in the waves of thy ocean.

میسر آتی هے فرصت فقط غلاموں کو
نہیں هے بندۂ حر کے لئے جہاں میں فراغ

Only the slaves can afford to have time,
For a free man there is no leisure in this world.

فطرت افراد سے اغماض بھی کر لیتی هے
کبھی کرتی نہیں ملت کے گناهوں کو معاف

Nature even connives at individuals,
But it never pardons the sins of a nation.

To Javid :—

شاخ گل پر چہک ولیکن کر اپنی خودی میں آشیانہ

Whistle on the branch of a rose tree, but
Find a haven in thy Self.

کیا یہی هے معاشرت کا کمال؟ مرد بیکار و زن تہی آغوش!

Is this the perfection of society—
Man unemployed, and woman 'empty-bosomed ?'

پھر میرے تجلی کدہ دل میں سما جاؤ
چھوڑو چمنستان و بیابان و در و بام

Enter again my heart—the abode of light,
Leave the garden and wilderness, the door and the roof.

بت خانے کے دروازہ پہ سوتا ہے برہمن
تقدیر کو رونا ہے مسلماں تہ محراب!
مشرق سے ہو بیزار نہ مغرب سے حذر کر
فطرت کا اشارہ ہے کہ ہر شب کو سحر کر!

The Brahman sleeps at the door of the idol-house,
The Muslim is bewailing the destiny under the arch (of the mosque),
Do not be upset by the East and do not shun the West!
Nature points—turn every night into a morning!

وہ قوم نہیں لائق ہنگامۂ فردا
جس قوم کی تقدیر میں امروز نہیں ہے

That nation is not fit for the tumult of To-morrow,
Whose destiny has no To-day.

یہ پیر کلیسا کی کرامت ہے کہ اس نے
بجلی کے چراغوں سے منور کئے افکار

This is the miracle of the Old Man of Ecclesia that he
Has lit up thought with electric lamps.

سنا ہے میں نے غلامی سے اُمتوں کی نجات
خودی کی پرورش و لذت نمود میں ہے

I have heard that the nations' deliverance (from slavery).
Lies in the development of the Self and its expression.

وہ علم نہیں زہر ہے افراد کے حق میں
جس علم کا حاصل ہے جہاں میں دو کف جو!

That is not knowledge—it is poison for freemen,
The product of which is two handfuls of barley in the world

گرچہ مکتب کا جواں زندہ نظر آتا ھے
مردہ ھے! مانگ کے لایا ھے فرنگی سے نفس!

Although the youth in the college appears to be alive,
He is dead · he has borrowed his breath from the European!

PAS CHIH BAYAD KARD

Pas Chih Bayad Kard——· (What to do then, O nations of the East!) was published in 1936. It also includes *Musafir* (the Traveller), a small collection of poems written during the poet's visit to Afghanistan in 1933.

Pash Chih Bayad——is a short *Mathnawi* containing a special poem, written in connection with Italy's invasion of Abyssinia. The other important poems are . 'The Wisdom of Moses, The Wisdom of Pharaoh, There is no god but God, Faqr, The Free Man, The Secrets of of Shari'at'.

Musafir comprises—'An Address to the Frontier men, Before the Martyr King, Visits to the Graves of Babar, Hakim Sanai, Sultan Mahmud and Ahmad Shah Baba, and An Address to King Zahir Shah.'

The following verses give an insight into the meaning of the two poems:

امتاں را زندگی جذب دروں   کم نظر ایں جذب را گوید جنوں

The inner impulse is the life of nations—
The short-sighted call it madness.

مومن از عزم و توکل قاهر است   گر ندارد ایں دو جوهر کافر است

The *Momin* (Faithful) is dominant on account of his determination and resignation,
If he has not these two virtues, he is an unbeliever.

عصر ما ما را زما بیگانه کرد   از جمال مصطفیٰ بیگانه کرد

Our age has turned us a stranger to our selves,
And has estranged us from the glory of Mustafa.

تا خودی در سینهٔ ملت بمرد   کوه کاهی کرد و باد او را ببرد

Since the Self died in the breast of the nation,
The mountain was turned into straw and the wind blew it away.

یورپ از شمشیر خود بسمل فتاد   زیر گردوں رسم لادینی نهاد

Europe has fallen wounded by its own sword—
Under the vault it laid the foundation of irreligion.

زمانه کهنه بتاں را هزار بار آراست
من از حرم نگذشتم که پخته بنیاد است

Time has adorned the old icons a thousand times,
I did not pass the Kaaba, because it has a strong foundation.

درون دیده نگه دارم اشک خونیں را
که من فقیرم و ایں دولت خداداد است

In my eyes, I guard a blood-coloured tear,
For, I am a Faqir and this wealth is God-given.

ARMUGHAN-I-HEJAZ

Armughan-i-Hejaz, the posthumous publication of the late poet saw the light of day in November, 1936. The poet had completed the work before his death with a few gaps to be filled in during the Haj pilgrimage which he intended to undertake if his health permitted, but his intention did not materialise. The work, however, is complete in every respect. It speaks the mind of the poet who was retiring within himself, casting his last look on this mortal world and was conscious of his journey to Eternity in the near future. The book is important inasmuch as it forms the last link of the poet's distinguished series of works, and brings his message to a close. All the poems herein centre round the general theme of the poet, with his characteristic outspokenness in addressing God, fervent devotion to the Prophet and pungent criticism of the Muslim people.

The work consists of two parts; the first incorporates the poet's Persian verse including such important addresses as—"Before God," "Before the Prophet," "Before the Muslim People," "Before Mankind." and "To the Friends of the Way." "Before the Muslim People" includes highly inspiring poems such as, 'Attach thy heart to God and follow the path of Mustafa," "The Self." "I am the Creative Truth," etc. The second part covers the Urdu

poems in the tone of *Bal-i- Jibril* and *Zarb-i-Kalim.* "The Parliament of Satan" is a forceful satire. "The old Baluch's Advice to His son", "The Prayer of a Man in Hell," "Masood Marhum", "Mullazada Zaigham Lolabi's Biaz" are among the masterpieces of the poet. The following verses unveil the poet's mind while the eternal curtain was falling:—

می از میخانهٔ مغرب چشیدم بجان من که درد سر خریدم
نشستم با نکویان فرنگی از آن بی سودتر روزی ندیدم

I tasted the wine from the Western tavern
By my soul, I purchased a headache
I sat in the company of the virtuous men of Europe,
I found no other day more profitless than that.

مقام خویش اگر خواهی درین دیر
بحق دل بند و راه مصطفیٰ رو

If thou desirest a stance in this world,
Attach thy heart to God and follow the path of Mustafa.

بہ بند صوفی و ملا اسیری حیات از حکمت قرآن نگیری
بآیاتش ترا کاری جز این نیست که از یٰسین او آسان بمیری

Thou art in the grips of the Sufi and the Mulla,
Thou dost not learn wisdom from the Quran
Thou hast no other business with its verse than that—
With its *Yasin* thou may'st die peacefully.

در صد فتنه را بر خود کشادی دو گامی رفتی و از پا فتادی
برهمن از بتان طاق خود آراست تو قرآن را سر طاقی نهادی

Thou hast opened the door to a hundred mischiefs upon thyself,
Thou didst move two steps to fall down.

The Brahman adorned his niche with idols,
Thou didst install the Quran in the niche.

بهشتی بهر پاکان حرم هست
بهشتی بهر ارباب همم هست
بگو هندی مسلمان را که خوش باش
بهشتی فی سبیل‌الله هم هست

There is a Paradise for the pious of the Haram,
And there is a Paradise for the men of adventure.
Say unto the Indian Muslim, "Be happy,
There is also a Paradise in the name of God (gratis)!"

The old Baluch advises his son:

غیرت ھے بڑی چیز جہان تگ و دو میں
پہناتی ھے درویش کو تاج سر دارا

Sense of honour is a great thing in this world of struggle,
It sets the crown of Darius on the head of a Dervish.

In the memory of Masood, the poet continues:

نہ کہہ کہ صبر میں پنہاں ھے چارۂ غم دوست
نہ کہہ کہ صبر معمائے موت کی ھے کشود!
"دلے کہ عاشق و صابر بود مگر سنگ است
ز عشق تا بہ صبوری ہزار فرسنگ است"
(سعدی)

Do not say that the remedy for the grief of a friend lies in patience:
Do not say that patience solves the problem of death!
"A heart which is a lover and yet patient is, perhaps, a stone —
From love to patience, it is a thousand leagues!"
(Saadi)

PART III

IQBAL AND HIS TEACHINGS



(IQBAL AT PRAYER IN THE MOSQUE AT CORDOVA)

I

IQBAL AND HIS PREDECESSORS

CONTEMPORANEOUS with the fall of the Moghul Empire was the decline of the Persian language and poetry. Persian poetry continued to enrapture the minds of Indian Muslims down to 1857. Mir Taqi, Khwaja Mir Dard, Mirza Sauda and other poets of the time wrote Urdu as well as Persian poetry. Among the associates of Bahadur Shah Zafar, Ghalib was the reputed master of the Persian language whose appearance during the declining years of the Moghuls stimulated the zest for Persian literature. Zauq and Momin were not wholly strangers to Persian composition. Imam Bakhsh Sahbai was another renowned scholar of the day, who was well versed in Persian letters. Among these luminaries, Ghalib outshines them all, and his Urdu and Persian Diwans have rightly been regarded as models of Urdu and Persian poetry. It is not an exaggeration to say that the Urdu poetry of Ghalib has set a new standard of expression which received further impetus at the hands of Iqbal. The Persian poetry of Ghalib, along with the works of earlier poets, Saib, Urfi, Naziri, Kalim and Bedil, has been a source of inspiration to

those who came after Ghalib, but with the march of time Urdu has become the *lingua franca* of India, hence, Ghalib's Urdu poetry has been widely read.

As times changed, Urdu was destined to replace Persian in all spheres, and naturally the scholars of the day diverted their attention towards Urdu and efforts were made to make it an up-to-date language. Along with the lyrical poetry of the later Moghul days, which gave rise to the poetry of Dagh and Amir Minai, another school of poetry sprang up which dwelt upon the glamour of the past and the decline of the present day. Then came Sir Syed Ahmad and his colleagues, who made it their mission to awaken the nation to the call of the spirit of the times. Hali, who was a product of the pre-Mutiny period, had shaken oft the decadent germs of old poetry. He now directed poetry towards higher ends—reconstruction of society and complete reformation. He simplified his language and adopted a natural mode of expression. His *Musaddas* (The Rise and Fall of Islam) is an inspiring poem. Its effect on Urdu poetry was beneficial. Professor Muhammad Husain Azad of the Government College, in Lahore, was another pioneer who indefatigably worked for the reform of Urdu poetry and prose. His Nature poems are perhaps the first specimens of their kind in Urdu poetry. Thus Azad and Hali laid the foundation of a new school of poetry, which may conveniently be called 'modern'.

Azad and Hali were the direct links with the historic Delhi Society, just after the days of Zafar, and it was decidedly through their efforts that the heritage of the Grand Moghul (Urdu with all its cultural thought) was handed over to the modern generation.

The modern writers, among whom Iqbal is the outstanding figure, naturally followed in the footsteps of Hali and his colleagues, but the language and the deep poetic vision of Ghalib had a greater attraction for them.

Hali and Akbar, the two great poets of the reformation period, rendered great services to the cause of Urdu and left an indelible impression upon modern poetry. Akbar, the humourist, employed the device of caricature in his poems, and it proved a very useful weapon in his hand. The poet was conservative, but his poetry was unique in its nature, Iqbal was at one time grealty attracted by his poetry. The short, pithy and light kind of verse which Iqbal attempted was formerly published under the title of *Akbari Iqbal*, pointing to the fact that it was written after the style of Akbar, but Iqbal could not go on with such light verse. By temperament and education he was more inclined towards philosophical poetry.

In the making of the modern mind, two things have played a very important part. The past civilisation and culture have all along been highly valued

by the leaders of thought. All literature has been overflowing with a keen sense of change and the much desired adaptation to the present circumstances. The great reverence for the past has naturally led the modern mind to study the past to establish a link with the present. Modern education and thought have affected the modern generation in no small measure. Western thought aims at a radical change in the East and the foundations of Eastern culture have indeed been shaken by forces which Western thought has created. The great experiment which humanity has made in the Western world is being repeated in the East. The modern mind in the East is indirectly influenced by the great leaders of the West.

In the realm of philosophic thought, Iqbal has been influenced both by his predecessors and contemporaries. In India, very few thinkers, in modern times, have left their impress on life. Iqbal was indeed imperceptibly affected by the current thought of the Indian poets, otherwise his source of inspiration was the great *Mathnawi* of Rumi. Being vastly read in modern philosophy, Iqbal seems to have been impressed by the philosophy of Nietzsche, Bergson, McTaggart and other modern thinkers, but that was merely in the nature of appreciation. He recognised all stable thought, and the teachings of Islam were his main source of inspiration.

Iqbal generally wrote Urdu poetry up to 1908; the year coincides with his return from Europe. But since that time he was more concerned with Persian verse and was busy for some years in the preparation of his *Mathnawi—Asrar-o-Rumuz.* Like a host of other Indian poets, he wrote Persian with the ease of expression and grace of style of classical scholars. The *Mathnawi* of Iqbal follows the style and metre of Rumi's *Mathnawi*, but the poet appreciated the poetry of Sanai and Jami as well. The lyrical verse of Iqbal takes its reflection from the poetry of Saadi, Hafiz, Khisrau, Jami, Sa'b, Urfi, Bedil and Ghalib. His *ghazals* are garbed in the old diction—but they convey new meanings and suggest new inferences. The vein of thought is unchanged and the mode of expression also, but there is a touch of modernism, which makes the inferences drawn conspicuous for their optimism in their outlook.

Iqbal was aware of the trend of modern Persian poetry and he seems to have been impressed by it. He retained the classical style for the reason that classical Persian poetry is understood all over the world. Undoubtedly, modern Persia has not yet fully appreciated the work of Iqbal, because it is in the classical style. The beauty and greatness of Iqbal's verse lies in the revivifying thought that it enshrines. Iqbal made the best use of all what his predecessors conveyed to him, but he had to

reshuffle all that came to his hand. He tested its value in the light of the present and the past, and made sure if it could endure the touch of time.

II

THE GROWTH OF IQBAL'S POETIC GENIUS

THE socio-political gloom of the nineteenth century and the general decay of Oriental literature, particularly of Urdu, was followed by the dawn of modern poetry.

Down to the days of Hali, the Urdu poets confined themselves to the four walls of *ghazal*. Like all writers of a decadent period, their poetry was a mere pastime for the people who were no more concerned with the struggle of time. Hali revolted against the past and used his poetry as an instrument of reform, and thus gave a new impulse to Urdu poetry. The new kind of poetry depended on the principle of social reform, and literary reform formed a part of it. Hali and Azad were guided by Western literature in their struggle for evolution and, unlike their predecessors, they saw the signs of the beneficial changes through which India was passing. Azad and Hali responded to the time-spirit and took up the great problems of the change in outlook then dimly foreshadowed.

Fortunately, Azad and Hali came to stay in Lahore and their activities in connection with *Musha'aras* made Urdu literature very popular

among the masses. Notwithstanding the new kind of poetry that was slowly coming into vogue, *ghazal* still had a natural appeal to the common folk and the verses of Dagh and Amir Minai were still sung in the bazaars of India.

Azad and Hali passed away, having done all the spade work for the new movement. In 1896, Iqbal appeared in *Musha'aras* at Lahore with all the lustre of a rising star, above the horizon. Like all young college students he attempted simple poetry influenced by society and the changing spirit of the time. While at Sialkot, Iqbal had the good fortune to have as his literary guide Allama Mir Hasan, who was a profound scholar of Arabic and Persian, and there he began to send his poems by post to Nawab Mirza Khan Dagh of Delhi for criticism, and in this way he sought the advice of the foremost poet of the day, but Iqbal was soon informed by Dagh that his poetry hardly required any correction. At the same time, there was another poet (of Delhi), Mirza Arshad Gorgani, in Ferozepore, who was a literary acquaintance of Iqbal and his poetical genius was availed of by the contemporary generation.

Notwithstanding the fact that Iqbal had established a poetical relation with Dagh, his poetical composition was more inspired by the poetry of Ghalib. He used the same diction with a peculiar personal touch. It is true that the language of

Ghalib is not modern on account of its highly Persianised vocabulary, but the fact cannot be denied that Ghalib's poetry has gained the depth and vastness of meaning through Persian words and has indirectly imparted the same capacity to Urdu. The same is true of Iqbal. In his younger days, he had been well introduced to Persian literature and the learned society of Allama Mir Hasan created in him a refined taste for the appreciation of poetry. The simple form of Urdu poetry devoid of the colourful splendour of Persian and classical refinement did not appeal to him. The style of Ghalib suited the flight of his sentiments and thought. The style which Iqbal developed was peculiarly his own and is distinct from that of any other Urdu poet.

Iqbal was born and bred in a family of strong religious traditions; as a result, his poetry is marked by a deep religious sense. His poems *Nala-i-Yatim*, *Shikwah*, *Jawab-i-Shikwah* and *Khizr-i-Rah* are overflowing with religious sentiments. His Persian works are all permeated with an intensely religious atmosphere and this peculiar character of Iqbal's writings makes him the unique personality of modern times and the effect of such writings on the Muslim world is bound to be profound.

Iqbal was educated on modern lines and had a brilliant career at the Government College in Lahore. He was a student of philosophy and his association

with Professor Arnold proved of infinite benefit to him. By nature he was given to thinking and his study of philosophy coupled with his poetical talents determined his educational career and went a long way to develop the poet and philosopher in Iqbal. The study of Western literature gave him a refined taste for natural poetry in the early stages of the growth of his poetic genius, and this marks a clear divergence from the trodden path of other lyricists. Some of his early poems such as *Ode to the Himalayas*, *Abr-i-Kohsar*, *A Bird's Plaint*, *The Faded Flower* and *The Morning Star* all remind the reader of the Western spirit of poetry. Iqbal was a thinker, born in a period of intellectual conflict and national decline. Hence, his early poetry reflects a constant struggle on the part of the poet to adjust his mind to the Universal reality and shows a great concern for the cause of the country which, at a later stage, is replaced by his conception of world citizenship.

His strong religious sense compelled him to see things through Muslim eyes, yet he could not ignore Western thought as altogether valueless. He passed through a stage of reaction for a long time till his visit to Europe dispelled all his mental cloudiness and he returned home with conviction and confidence.

Before going to Europe Iqbal was inquisitive and restless. He did not find so much solace in society as in the solitude of nature. He looked

upon a flower as a contrast to himself. The flower was not so agitated and restless as the poet. Iqbal was always after the problems of life and in order to seek the truth he would resort to the mountain valleys and speak to the stars, the moon and the sun. The problem of life was soon disclosed by a wave, and the ultimate destiny of the ship of life was explained by the flowing water of the Ravi. The glow-worm divulged to the poet the secret of the inner light. Such a spirit of enquiry and interminable search for truth marked the growth of Iqbal's poetic genius in the early stages.

In an age of social changes and political developments in the country, Iqbal could not ignore the national destiny; with this sense, he wrote the Indian National Anthem. But the ever-increasing estrangement of Hindu-Muslim relations was, to the poet, the real cause of all trouble. He wanted them to come closer for mutual understanding and thus enter the common temple of worship. He expressed the idea in *The New Temple*, addressing the Brahman:

سچ کہہ دوں اے برہمن! گر تو برا نہ مانے
تیرے صنم کدوں کے بت ہوگئے پرانے

I would speak the truth, O Brahman! if thou taketh not ill,
The idols of thy idol-house have grown old.

Such were the efforts of Iqbal to bring about a harmony of relations between the various classes in India.

The poet's visit to England brought him in contact with new people, whose life was passing through a dynamic process of evolution. The new civilisation with all its free-thought, science and machinery, the growing social problems of individual rights and class domination and the dangerous clash of capital and labour were subjects of absorbing study to Iqbal. At the same time, he realised that the two civilisations were poles apart. The static life of the East had led to the downfall of so many great Empires and the whole social system was speedily breaking up. Nothing short of a revival of Eastern thought and a new life of action could bring back past glory. Hence the poetry of Iqbal, written during his stay in Europe, shows the old spirit passing through a transitional period. The reader who looks through his poems becomes conscious of the past glory and the future of Islam. Iqbal's poems *Love* and *The Reality of Beauty* bear a certain resemblance to Shelley's (conception of love and) *Spirit of Delight*. The tinge of classical mysticism in Iqbal can yet be traced in *Swami Ram Tirath* :

نفی ہستی اک کرشمہ ہے دل آگاہ کا
لا کے دریا میں نہاں موتی ہے الااللہ کا

Negation of Existence is a marvel of the knowing heart,
In the ocean of ' No ' is hidden the pearl of ' But God '.

The poems of this period are saturated with a feeling of life. The poet regards beauty and love as

the very essence of life. He seems to be apprehending the reality of things as a whole. Change is the governing force of the Universe. Nothing is static—life is a struggle . . . . an imperfect effort.

In 1907, India was passing through a state of political unrest. Indian Muslims could not remain uninfluenced by the political currents in the country. Iqbal presented his view in his poem—*To the Aligarh College Students*:

موت ھے عیش جاوداں ذوق طلب اگر نہ ھو
گردش آدمی ھے اور گردش جام اور ھے

Eternal life is Death, if there is no zest of living,
The revolution of man is different from the revolution of a (lifeless) cup.

Affected by the active life of Europe and its marked contrast with the indolence of the East and the sad state of Islamic countries, Iqbal wrote a few verses to Sheikh (now Sir) Abdul Qadir to work for the enlightenment of the Eastern Nations:

اٹھہ کہ ظلمت ھوئی پیدا افق خاور پر
بزم میں شعلہ نوائی سے اجالا کر دیں

Arise ! darkness has appeared in the horizon of the East
Let's light up the Assembly with our fiery speech.

And a typical poem that enshrines Iqbal's devotional feelings for past Islamic glory is *Sicily* which he wrote while passing by the Island ;

رو لے اب دل کھولکر اے دیدۂ خوننابہ بار!
وہ نظر آتا ھے تہذیب حجازی کا مزار

Weep now to thy heart's content, O tearful eye!
There is the grave of the civilisation of Hejaz!

Iqbal henceforth plays the rôle of a prophet and has a special message to convey to the people of the world, in particular, to the Muslim world. Iqbal's sojourn in Europe is an important period in the evolution of his mind. He had now become a devout admirer of Islamic principles and he fervently preached them, supported by his modern philosophy. His thought and sentiments had now passed through a process of formative change.

On his return to India in 1908, Iqbal wrote inspiring poetry for the revival of Islam. He wrote *Tarana-i-Milli* as opposed to *Tarana-i-Hindi*. He was now living in a wider sphere of human association. China, Arabia and India were now his native-land. *Shikwah*, *Sham'-o-Shair*, *Jawab-i-Shikwah* *Khizr-i-Rah* and *Tulu'-i-Islam* are his important poems which he wrote later. All of them are devoted to the cause of Islam and are of great value. He also devoted his time to the preparation of his Persian *Mathnawi*, *The Secrets of the Self*.

Iqbal was ever concerned with the destiny of man and as such he planned to convey his universal message through the medium of Persian poetry as it enabled him to approach a far wider circle of humanity. *Asrar-i-Khudi* was published in 1915. It represents a system of Iqbal's philosophy based on the secrets of the Self. The *Mathnawi* explains the

nature of the Self and emphasises the fact that the Self forms the nucleus of all existence, individual or social, and every effort for the realisation, protection and development of the Self is a noble pursuit of man. The teachings of *Asrar-o-Rumuz* practically form the basis of Iqbal's philosophy and the effect of the *Mathnawi* on the younger generation has been incalculable. After *Asrar-o-Rumuz*, Iqbal published his famous work *Piam-i-Mashriq* which was written in response to the German poet, Goethe's *Western Diwan*. The book has earned a great reputation for the poet. It is in many ways unique, particularly the devotion of the poet to Eastern civilisation and his criticism of Western thought and civilisation are fascinating.

The other important Persian works of Iqbal, are *Zabur-i-'Ajam*, *Javid Nama* and a short *Mathnawi*, *Pas Chih Bayad Kard*. In later years, the poet turned his attention to Urdu poetry and produced his two best works——*Bal-i-Jibril* and *Zarb-i-Kalim* which are devoted to the problems of the modern age.

All these books represent the evolution of a mind of the twentieth century facing all the political and cultural dilemmas of the day, with the courage and nerve of a true Muslim, undaunted by the violence of the spirit of change.

III

HIS CHARACTER AND PERSONALITY

"IF anybody in India was awarded a title on real merits, it was Iqbal," said one of Iqbal's very intimate friends to the writer. It is true Iqbal was created a Knight when his fame as a poet and scholar had crossed the seas, but his character and personality were in no degree less responsible for this high honour.

His simplicity and charming personality won him many friends during his educational career. As a professor, he became popular in literary circles all over the Punjab. Besides his poetic talents, he possessed personal magnetism which commanded a very wide circle of admirers.

He loved people of all classes and never differentiated between man and man. He believed in good deeds and was of the opinion that all those who acted rightly were the people of God and would be rewarded by Him. There is not a single word in his writings which is meant to be a cause of grief to anyone. He was a great lover of Islam and he preached Islam as the religion of humanity, but he

was far from what is called a fanatic and that was the main reason for his vast popularity among men of all religions in India.

He was by nature independent, and valued liberty above everything else. As a liberal youth he never imposed upon himself such bondages as were calculated to curtail his liberty. As a lawyer, he never approached anyone to help him, nor did he cultivate society to derive some personal benefit. He was a Dervish and was always content. The conception of the Self and its destiny is a familiar topic in Persian poetry. Iqbal preached the secrets of the Self, and had put his teachings in this respect to test himself. The natural result of all this was his intense love for the civilisation and culture of the East and an indescribable admiration for the spirit of Islam. All through his life, he fought bravely for the cause of Islam and was always sure of the ultimate triumph of Islamic truth. Any danger to Islam from any quarter, be it from an individual or a Government, was always a matter of great concern to him. While defending Islam he was a fearless and an outspoken advocate.

Iqbal passed most of his time quietly at home. Thinking was his hobby All his writings are the result of deep thinking. People of all opinions visited him. Thus he had the advantage of studying human nature and progress of modern thought, and his position enabled him to have an insight into the current problems and the intellectual conflict of the

present century.

Although Iqbal had a modern education and had visited Europe, he was not much impressed by Western civilisation. One would say he was a conservative, but his conservatism was not that of a Die-hard. He was a Muslim and a student of world history and thought. All through his life his attitude towards modern civilisation was that of a shrewd critic with a great self-confidence. In the noise of modern civilisation his motto was—

شورش امروز میں محو سرود دوش رہ

In his daily life, not only in thought, but in practice also, Iqbal lived the life of a typical man from the Orient whose behaviour and outlook on life were dictated by the Word of God. He would prostrate before God with all the humility of the faithful. He is said to have devoted himself to the early morning prayers (*Tahajjud*). continuously for two months and was often seen reciting the Holy Koran with moist eyes.

As a rule, Iqbal never accepted anything by way of tribute. On "Iqbal Day", some of his admirers wanted to raise a fund for the poet in recognition of his services to the cause of Islam, but he vigourouslsy declined the suggestion. On the same occasion a State Minister sent a cheque to the poet who returned it together with a few subtle verses. Iqbal never hesitated to visit the houses

of common people when they were in distress. He did not believe that the aristocrats were inherently born fools, nor did he hate them, but he loved the poor and always supported their cause.

As a leader of the Muslim community, Iqbal was a great power in the land. To his own people, he was a sincere, sympathetic and honest guide. He never misled them and in a crisis was always at the helm of affairs. He was not only concerned with the destiny of Indian Muslims but of the entire Muslim World. He stood like a rock in all adverse circumstances and his advice proved of infinite value to Muslims, In fact the personality of Iqbal raised the standard of Muslim leadership and his example shall ever be a source of inspiration to the future generations.

Iqbal was a citizen of the world and was a staunch believer in human brotherhood and principles of equality and liberty. To use a more comprehensive term, he was a pan-Islamist and his attitude towards Indian politics was determined by his deep concern for the protection and preservation of Islamic religion, civilisation and culture in India. As a solution of the Hindu-Muslim problem Iqbal proposed the creation of an Indipendent State in the North-West of India——Pakistan.

There are many facets to a diamond, so there are to Iqbal's personality. He did not belong to any particular period, country or nation. It is true that

a greater part of the world knows him as an eminent modern poet, but it is his personality that arrests one's attention.

Iqbal stood for the high aims and objects of a *Mujahid*, but his nature was all love. He was one of those great men of the world, whose number is very small, who as far as possible never suffer to hurt any one. He was never a rival to anyone, but there was no paucity of such men who in view of his greatness and eminence considered him to be their rival. Iqbal was always proud of Faqr:

فقیر راہ نشین است و دل غنی دارد

(He) is a wayside Faqir with a wealthy heart.

He did not woo fame, although fame dogged him day and night He never cared for status and never made any struggle to attain this end. In fact, he was not born for that, as he himself says: "The attainment of status involves a 'desire for search' and even if it be there, I have no capacity . . . ."

Throughout his works he refers to himself as a *Faqir* or a *Dervish* or a *Qalandar*. It was not merely a poetic indulgence in the use of vain words. It was the expression of his true feelings. The people who had the chance to see him recognised the poet's greatness and ever longed for another opportunity to see him. During his life, the fame of Iqbal spread all over the world and in this respect, very few great men have been so fortunate.

With the passing of Iqbal, the world has lost a

unique personality and no stretch of imagination and no power of expression can bring back or create the impression that Iqbal, a man of medium height, with his broad forehead, with his hair brushed back, sharp eagle eyes, Aryan nose and a moustache like a Turkish Pashá's, created.

The works of Iqbal explain his thoughts to the reader, and the clue to his personality is contained in his message to man: آزاد زی آزاد میر— Live a free life and die a freeman.

IV

INFLUENCE OF ISLAMIC LITERATURE AND THOUGHT

"I HAVE a long descent . . . . Zarathustra, Moses, Muhammad, Zeno, Plato, Brutus, Spinoza, Mirabeau . . . . and so if I speak of Plato, Pascal, Spinoza and Goethe, I know that their blood runs in mine," are the famous words uttered by Nietzsche while tracing his descent. Iqbal, in this sense, is certainly a distinguished member of the House of the Great, but he claims his descent from Islam and was legitimately proud of it.

It is an indisputable fact that Iqbal is the product both of the East and West, but the basis of all his teachings is Islamic, and the reaction of Western thought has only strengthened his faith in Islam. His early introduction to Persian literature laid the foundation stone of all his learning and while at the Government College in Lahore, his philosophical study determined the course of his future thought. Sometime later, when Iqbal was a professor at the Oriental College and had to teach history and philosophy, the Oriental atmosphere of the college

gave him a chance to study Islamic literature in all its aspects. Once Iqbal told the writer that he was introduced to the elementary Islamic books in his younger days and that in school and college his knowledge of Persian did not extend beyond Saadi's *Gulistan* and *Bostan* and the works of Urfi, Hafiz and Sanai. All his later Persian study was private and his Arabic knowledge was hardly beyond the elementary books of religion and grammar, but Iqbal was a voracious reader. He was an intelligent student of the Holy Koran and supported all his teachings by appropriate verses. He was acquainted with *Hadith* and made use of it. In fact Iqbal was always guided by the Koran and *Hadith*. *Asrar-o-Rumuz* and his other Persian works are interspersed with quotations from the Holy Koran and *Hadith*—even in his philosophical work, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam,* he quotes the Koran profusely, and for all philosophical explanation in the face of highly scientific thought of the West, he falls back upon the Koran and his exposition is praiseworthy.

He rambled through all the valleys of Islamic literature. From early life, he composed doggerel rhymes in Urdu, later he read and wrote Urdu and his poetry which is, indeed, a very fine specimen in our modern literature, bears testimony to the fact that Iqbal had his eyes practically upon the whole of Urdu litrature, particularly the kind of Urdu of

the days of Zafar; but Urdu literature did not influence his mind so much as Persian. Persian thought had an immense effect on Iqbal and it goes without saying that being a poet of classical Persian, his form and style closely resembled the style of classical poets. As regards Persian thought he was always critical, but even then, the fountain of his poetry, is all Persian. The poet Rumi was his spiritual leader and the famous *Mathnawi* was the source of Iqbal's inspration, yet the works of Hafiz, Saadi, Sanai and other *ghazal* writers, such as Saib, Jami, Bedil and Ghalib, had no less attraction for Iqbal.

Besides the Persian poets, the works of Persian Sufis impressed Iqbal considerably. Notwithstanding the fact that he was hostile to most of them, and did not appreciate the teachings of the later Sufis, who had developed a kind of philosophy closely akin to Aryan ascetism, yet their mysticism influenced the structure of his thought. Iqbal may not be a mystic in the general sense, but he was not free from the influence of the mystics and may be said to have evolved a mysticism of his own. His *Asrar-o-Rumuz* resembles the *Mathnawi* of Rumi, in many respects, and the conception of the Self is nothing alien to Persian mystic literature. It is true Iqbal's conception of the Self, from many points of view, is wholly different. His teachings of the Self are primarily Islamic, and there is no lack of Islamic traditions to support this view. In various places

the importance and dignity of the Self have been emphasised in the Koran and the fact that the angels were asked by God Almighty to execute a *sajda* to Adam clearly alludes to the individual Self. It would not be safe to say that Iqbal's conception of the Self is wholly Western. The attribute of love, which Iqbal ascribes to the development of the Self, is not foreign to Persian mysticism. Persian literature is almost entirely based on this conception of love.

The works of Iqbal are permeated with the poet's historical sense. In the preface to the first edition of *Asrar-i-Khudi* there is a significant passage in which he explained that the subject of the *Mathnawi* is to revive the 'National I' and the best means to that end is to keep national history alive Accordingly the poet has drawn moral lessons from the history of Islam and presents them to Muslims showing the past as an example of how life can be best lived with the ultimate result of survival of the National Self. He condemns Plato as the leader of the "old herd of sheep," regards his teachings as the most dangerous and appeals to the nation to look to Islam for inspiration. The holy verse---انی حامل فی الارض خلیفه is the basis of Iqbal's third stage for the development of the Self—'Divine Vicegerency'. The kind of *Jihad* which Iqbal preaches is typically Islamic. The conception of prophethood as the central figure for the people of Islam and the

fundamentals of the Islamic nation, such as Unity of God and the Prophet's finality go to make the poetic thought of Iqbal wholly Islamic.

In his famous work, *Piam-i-Mashriq*, the touch of Westernism is easily perceptible and such familiar themes as *Life is to Face Danger* and *A Falcon's Advice to Its Young One* remind the reader of Nietzschean philosophy and words such as *Shahin, Baz, Kabutar* and *Fakhta* naturally point to the influence of Western thought on Iqbal. At the same time, it must not be forgotten that the spirit of such poetry is Islamic and the words so used do not necessarily show his acceptance of 'Nietzscheism'. They are on the contrary, used to convey the meaning of life with marked difference from the view-point of Nietzsche.

Gulshan-i-Raz (*Jadid*) which forms a supplement to *Zabur-i-Ajam* is a manifestation of the poet's exposition of Islamic thought, closely allied to mysticism in the light of modern philosophy. The poet's views on art are, in many ways, different from current notions. 'Art for the sake of art' had almost no meaning for Iqbal. To him all art was supposed to be constructive, and any art that led to the deterioration of life was destructive, and was to be banished from the sphere of life. In this respect, the art of Islam had no parallel in the world. Alhamra, the Taj and the Sahsaram mausoleum are all the expression, of life and gave life to the dead, a

living reminder of the nation's glory. On the other hand, music, painting and sculpture which lead the human mind to physical pleasure and self-destruction are no art in the eyes of Iqbal. Islam has condemned all such art.

Javid Nama, though written after the model of Dante's *Divine Comedy*, is the work of a devout Muslim with a great concern for Islam and the Islamic people. *Javid Nama* has a spiritual link with the familiar *Mi'raj Namas*, read all over the Muslim world. The later works of the poet deal with great universal truths, expounded by a Muslim philosopher of an unquestionable authority who was always thinking of humanity as a whole and who solved the problems of race, civilisation and government from a universal point of view—according to the principles of Islam.

The political and economic views of Iqbal were primarily Islamic. He did not believe in nationalism. He was in fact against it and looked upon it as something dangerous to human solidarity. Any attempt to divide the human race into geographical or linguistic divisions was regarded by him as detrimental to human progress. As a political creed, Iqbal believed in Islamic democracy and was a severe critic of its modern conception which, according to him, is worse than despotism.

The position of woman in modern life was not satisfactory in the eyes of Iqbal. He was not

a believer in the equality of man and woman in the modern sense, and was of the opinion that a demand of equality on the part of woman was bound to bring choas in society. Nietzsche assigned to women a lower and more limited sphere in the world——" They are to produce better and better children........... and to comfort, cheer, assist and satisfy the man, who has to bear the greater part of the fight, to increase power and to improve the race." This is how Nietzsche looked upon woman. Iqbal did not hate women, but he emphasised the Islamic view of equality with mutual duties and rights.

As a philosopher, Iqbal made an elaborate study of Eastern thought. The works of Al-Farabi, Avicenna, Ibn-Hazm, Ghazali, Averroes, Nasir-ud-Din Tusi and the writings of Muslim jurists, such as Shaf'i, Abu Hanifa and Shatibi, were of equal interest to him as the works of European philosophers and leaders of thought, in the domains of science, philosophy, politics, economics and sociology.

The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam is one of Iqbal's very valuable works in modern philosophy. It defines his outlook on life and its realities——happily through the eyes of a Muslim. It has been generally recognised that Iqbal has, in his illuminating lectures, very successfully advocated the cause of religion——not exclusively Islam. In the twentieth century, when religion has ceased

to inspire the progressive section of humanity and such indifference is a menace to human civilization and culture, the lectures of Iqbal have greatly helped to dispel the mental haze. The philosopher himself refers to his lectures in his poetical works as *harf-i-pechapech*—the word of a tangled knot. Conscious of the fact that he was speaking to the modern world, he had to use the language of modern philosophy, otherwise he was a poet of intuition and attached greater value to his poetic thought. In fact, he sometimes humourously said that he was not a student of scientific thought. He was guided by his heart more than his mind.

Iqbal always looked for support to the writings of great Muslim thinkers who were the pioneers of all 'modernism.' Ibn-i-Khaldun, Ibn-i-Hazm, Ibn-ul-Arabi and Hallaj have been freely referred to, while expounding Islamic thought to the world. Shah Wali-ullah of Delhi, Syed Jamal-ud-Din Afghani, Said Halim Pasha were among the moderns whom he consulted in current affairs

Sheikh Ahmad of Sarhind, one of the prominent mystic saints of Islam was a notable thinker of his time. The poet-philosopher of the East has unhesitatingly referred to his valuable views while discussing highly scientific thought such as the value of mystic experience and the relation between spiritual reality and objective form.

The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam

may conveniently be designated modern philosophy, but it has a mystic link with the celebrated Sufis and thinkers of the Muslim world. Iqbal's interest in Islamic literature had grown to such an extent that even when seriously ill before his death, he was making a close study of Razi's *Mabahath-i-Mashriqia* and the *Talimat-i-Ilahiya* of a Delhi scholar. He was searching for a suitable definition of Time, from a philosopher's point of view, but the book of time was suddenly closed to him.

V

THE MIND AND ART OF IQBAL

ART, as an occupation to satisfy taste or to produce what is beautiful, is a natural tendency in man. Beauty is found scattered in nature and by perception, the mind of man is affected by natural phenomena, and the impression has a positively constructive value in the development of the mind. The orderliness in things is the basic principle of beauty, and has a natural attraction for man because of the satisfaction and soothing effect it has on the mind and nerves. Art, therefore, is the expression of the mind in relation to things: In common parlance, it may be described as the application of skill to subjects of taste, such as poetry, music, painting, sculpture and architecture, which may be further divided into fine arts and useful arts. The study of an art is never complete without the study of the artist's mind as the one has a direct relation with the other.

Art has various uses in life. Apart from its physical advantages, its value in the development of mind cannot be underrated, provided the art is

constructive. Art flourishes according to the state of society, which can encourage and provide a suitable atmosphere for its proper development. Criticism, particularly constructive criticism, is very essential for the growth of art, and the quality of critics in a society governs the standard of art. During a period of national progress, the artist's view on life is progressive, and the art of such a period is creative and reflects the evolution of the national mind Art deteriorates during an age of national decline, and the art of a fallen nation points to a low mentality. Poetry deteriorates to a very low standard and its thought represents intellectual pessimism and mental decay. But then nature has to keep her system going. Just as in the hot weather a high temperature forecasts stormy weather, in the same way, conditions of decline in a nation's art foreshadow the emergence of a leader. He may be a prophet. a soldier, a politician, a philosopher or a poet.

Iqbal was born in a period when the people of India were passing through a critical stage. The political state of affairs was far from satisfactory. Religion had almost ceased to be a living force. Literature and art were on the wane and were adding to the deadening effect of the forces of disruption. Such a suffocating atmosphere had a natural reaction in the revival of Islam and Muslim India in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

This period gave birth to several leaders noted for their sacrifice and faithful services. Iqbal was one of them, and in many ways, the most distinguished of all. He is the spokesman of the modern spirit, yet he has a great admiration for the past and wants the Muslims to preserve the past traditions of Islam. His message is universal and Islam being a universal religion, Iqbal is synonymous with Islam.

Le style est l'homme—The style is the man. In order to study Iqbal and his mind, one has to study his works and his style in particular. All his works are life-giving and the style is that of an artist who aims at a renaissance. The poetry of Iqbal presents a marked contrast to the pre-Mutiny literature in India. The poet was fighting against the decadent forces in Indian society:

> That I may lead home the wanderer
> And imbue the idle looker-on with restless impatience,
> And advance hotly on a new quest,
> And become known as the champion of a new spirit.

Iqbal's conception of the Self directly speaks the high-mindedness of a great lover of life. His great poetic talents had a magnetic attraction, but the strength of his mind as a leader of thought was far more responsible for the present change in society. The poet had an independent mind and never sacrificed the freedom of his soul, and these things gave his teachings the beautiful colour of 'Iqbalism' and such an attitude of his mind deeply influenced

all his art, mainly directed towards the preservation of the Self—استقرار ذات

The poet's attitude towards art may best be explained in his own words which occur in an article on our Prophet's criticism of contemporary Arabian poetry.—(*The New Era*, 1916, p. 251.)

"The ultimate end of all human activity is Life —— glorious, powerful, exhuberant. All human art must be subordinated to this final purpose, and the value of everything must be determined in reference to its life-yielding capacity. The highest art is that which awakens our dormant will-force and nerves us to face the trials of life manfully. All that brings drowsiness and makes us shut our eyes to Reality around, on the mastery of which alone life depends is a message of decay and death. There should be no opium-eating in Art. The dogma of Art for the sake of Art is a clever invention of decadence to cheat us out of life and power."

The quotation practically sums up all what his poetical works suggest. The poetic thought of Iqbal is refreshing and shows the way to life, and the works of his art are so many direction-posts to life and power. The art of Iqbal has revived Oriental taste, and the external beauty of his choicest words and ryhmes, appropriate metres and thoughts, rising high into the sky, raise a poetical edifice of rare beauty and structure. He is not an

idle dreamer. As opposed to the idealist poets of the past, he is a realist and if he inclines towards idealism due to heredity, it is only with a view to convey reality through the poetic art.

Iqbal was a modern and his works, from the point of art, have a strong link with the past, but he does not observe the hard and fast rules of the past so strictly. Diderot mentions the story of a young painter who invariably, before he applied himself to work, flung himself down on his knees in front of his canvas and exclaimed: "*Mon Dieu! Délivrez moi du modèle.*" That is to say he desired to be free from the domination of the school and all the prevailing artificialities of style in vogue. Iqbal may not be so loud in his protests, yet he held in derision poetical artificialities and conventions. He frequently takes leave of the old style and looks to opportunities of expression and does not sacrifice the honesty and dignity of his thought—— speaks from the heart

The foreign and past influence on the mind and art of Iqbal has many aspects. His art is the expression of the spirit of Islam and quite naturally reflects the art of the days of Islamic glory and splendour. A very vast and diligent study of a grand heritage of literature and arts gave a peculiar form to the mind of Iqbal. His contribution to world thought and literature which is of a highly creative value is expected to bring about a beneficial

change in the Muslim world. He has revived religion and has interpreted philosophy, politics and economics from the Islamic point of view and the study of his art in the reformative aspect is all the more interesting. Iqbal's early poetry is marked by a spirit of inquiry after reality with a tinge of a lover's pessimism. Later on, the poet played the important role of a reformer and critic in society. His well-known poem *Jawab-i-Shikwah* has for its aim the reform of society and has greatly served the purpose of the poet. Iqbal was a popular master and used his pen as a clever painter's brush, displaying charming colours——that is the creative side of his art. But it was his precious life blood that imparted colour to his verse. He himself says :

نقش ہیں سب ناتمام خون جگر کے بغیر
نغمہ ہے سودائے خام خون جگر کے بغیر

All painting is imperfect without the blood of the heart.
A song is imperfect madness without the blood of the heart.

Eastern poetry is noted for its atmosphere of sensuality, peace and languidness, with a deteriorating effect on society. The verse of Iqbal on the other hand presents the inspiring message of life —to live a life of adventure. It has broadened the individual and national outlook beyond its own narrow confines.

While discussing the reality of verse and reform of Islamic literature, the poet lays great emphasis on

the necessity of desire in life which leads to action :

گرم خون انسان ز داغ آرزو   آتش این خاک از چراغ آرزو

The blood of man is hot from the scar (wound) of desire.

This dust turns into a flame from the lamp of desire.

He pities the nation whose poet ceases to take an interest in life :

وائے قومے کز اجل گیرد برات   شاعرش وابوسد از ذوق حیات

Woe to the nation in whose midst, death abides—
Its poet turns (his face) away from the desire of life.

All art, when divorced from life, becomes dull and insipid, just as religion is a mere frivolity unless it is rooted in conduct. Iqbal was true to his high principle and no contemporary poet has shown such a great interest in life as the poet of the East ;

اے میان کیسہ ات نقد سخن   بر عیار زندگی او را بزن

O thou, who hast a coin of verse in thy pocket.
Test it on the touchstone of life.

In *Bandagi Nama*, Iqbal discusses the arts of slavery very comprehensively Under the caption of 'Slavery' the poet says :

مرگ ها اندر فنون بندگی   من چه گویم از فسون بندگی

Death in the arts of slavery——
What should I say of the magic of slavery ?

Referring to music :

تشنہ کامی ؟ این حرم بے زمزم است
در بم و زیرش هلاک آدم است

Art thou thirsty? This Haram is without Zamzam,
In its high and low tunes is the death of Adam.

من نمی گویم که آهنگش خطا ست
بیوه زن را ایں چنیں شیون رواست

I do not say that its tune is unharmonious,
Such a cry is lawful for the widow!

The poet speaks of painting in the same terms:

همچناں دیدم فن صورت گری — نے براهیمی درو نے آذری

Of the same type have I seen the art of portraiture,
It reflects neither the qualities of an Abraham nor of
an Azar

And referring to the freemen's art of building, the poet points to the grand monuments of the Qutb Minar, the Taj and the Sahsaram Mausoleum of Sher Shah Suri. All this art is nothing but self-expression:

خویش را ازخود بروں آورده اند — ایں چنیں خود را تماشا کرده اند

They have taken themselves out of their Self,
In this way, they have looked upon themselves.

دلبری بے قاهری جادوگری است — دلبری باقاهری پیغمبری است

Ravishing beauty without force is magic,
Ravishing beauty with force is prophethood.

Referring to creative thought which gives birth to all art, there is a forceful verse in *Zarb-i-Kalim*:

جہان تازہ کی افکار تازہ سے ہے نمود
کہ سنگ وخشت سے ہوتے نہیں جہاں پیدا

The appearance of a new world depends on new ideas,
For, the world is not created from stone and brick!

Explaining the object of excellence in art, Iqbal describes the true character of art. He passed his life pursuing the same ideal:

مقصود ہنر سوز حیات ابدی ہے
یہ ایک نفس یا دو نفس مثل شرر کیا!

The object of art is the burning quest of an eternal life
What is this—a moment or two, like a spark?

شاعر کی نوا ہو کہ مغنّی کا نفس ہو
جس سے چمن افسردہ ہو وہ باد سحر کیا!

It may be the voice of a poet or the breath of a singer—
Which makes the garden gloomy, what morning breeze is that?

وہ شعر کہ پیغام حیات ابدی ہے
یا نغمہ جبریل ہے یا بانگ سرافیل!

That verse which is a message of eternal life—
Is either a song of Gabriel or the cry of Israfil!

VI

THE PHILOSOPHY AND POETIC THOUGHT OF IQBAL

THE early poetry of Iqbal is valuable material for the study of the growth of the poet's mind. The work of nature and the constant change in all phases of life seem to have deeply influenced the poet. He loves solitude. The restless mind of the young poet takes him from place to place, and he passes under survey what he sees—'The Himalayas,' 'The Colourful Flower,' 'The Mountain Cloud,' 'A Bird's Plaint,' etc., are all objects of inspiration to the poet. But his verse on beauty and love is not wholly free from pessimism:

بزم جہاں میں میں بھی ہوں اے شمع! دردمند
فریاد در گرہ صفت دانۂ سپند

O Candle! I am also distressed in the Assembly of this world.
Like a rue-seed, I have a plaint in my "knot"

یہ آگہی مری مجھے رکھتی ہے بےقرار
خوابیدہ اس شرر میں ہیں آتشکدے ہزار

This my knowledge keeps me restless,
A thousand furnaces are dormant in the spark of my life

The phenomenal change which takes on different forms, sometimes puzzles the poet's mind. He walks in the garden and comes across a withered flower, and at once thinks of himself:

میری بربادی کی ہے چھوٹی سی اک تصویر تو
خواب میری زندگی تھی جس کی ہے تعبیر تو

Thou art a small picture of my desolation,
My life was a dream of which thou art an interpretation.

With the passing of time, having seen and thought much, the poet begins to realise the centre of all human conception——the Self—and feels that outward appearances occupying man's vision, he underrates himself, while he is actually the pivot of existence :

تو اگر اپنی حقیقت سے خبردار رہے
نہ سیہ روز رہے، پھر نہ سیہ کار رہے

If thou knowest thy worth,
Thou shalt neither be unfortunate, nor an evil-doer.

The far-sightedness and the deep concern of a poet for the future of his own people was seldom so practically demonstrated as by Iqbal. He sang the praises of his native land and always taught the people of India to love one another, because no idea of the progress of the people and their political deliverance, according to him, can have any meaning before the people of this vast subcontinent learn the secret of national unity. Iqbal preached this doctrine of mutual sympathy throughout his life. He saw all that was happening around him and conveyed it to the nation. Any calamity, even the slightest injury to the 'body' of the people, made the poet (the eye of the nation)

weep as a representative:

مبتلائے درد کوئی عضو ھو روتی ھے آنکھ
کس قدر ھمدرد سارے جسم کی ھوتی ھے آنکھ

If a certain limb feels pain, the eye weeps,
How sympathetic towards the whole body is the eye!

Perhaps the first poem in which the poet gave expression to what may be conveniently called the "national spirit" is *Taswir-i-Dard.* The poet is not ignorant of his personal worth. He knows that he is a treasure, hidden under a handful of dust—— "no-one knows where I am and whose fortune I am." He refers to the sad tale of India:

رلاتا ھے ترا نظارہ اے ھندوستاں مجھ کو
کہ عبرت خیز ھے تیرا فسانہ سب فسانوں میں

Thy sight, O India! makes me weep,
For thy tale is the most admonitory of all.

The poet advises the people of India to open their eyes to reality——Love is the binding force among the people of a country:

شراب روح پرور ھے محبت نوع انساں کی
سکھایا اس نے مجھ کو مست بے جام و سبو رھنا

Love of humanity is a soul-nourishing wine,
This very thing has taught me to remain intoxicated
without a cup or a vat.

That the all-pervading reality is one and the same throughout the Universe is a common philosophical truth The inquisitive mind of Iqbal perceives the great reality everywhere. Man, the bud,

the moon and the poet's heart all direct him to the same point:

حسن ازل کی پیدا ہر چیز میں جھلک ہے
انساں میں وہ سخن ہے، غنچے میں وہ چٹک ہے

The eternal beauty shines in every thing,
In man it is speech, in the bud it is bloom.

Immortality of the soul was conceived by Iqbal at a very early stage. He explains this aspect of human life very beautifully in his famous poem *On the Banks of the Ravi.* To him, man is like a fast-sailing boat on the breast of a river, struggling with the waves. The speed of the boat is almost that of light, and death is nothing but the passing of the boat out of sight. Similarly, the ship of human life sails along and is 'apparent and invisible':

شکست سے یہ کبھی آشنا نہیں ہوتا
نظر سے چھپتا ہے، لیکن فنا نہیں ہوتا

It never knows what is dissolution.
It passes out of sight, but never perishes.

But at the same time, Iqbal feels for the short life of man on this earth. A feeling of disappointment with a deep colour of Eastern pessimism and sweetness of grief, so cherished by youth, can be traced in the poet's following verse:

نہیں بیگانگی اچھی رفیق راہ منزل سے
ٹھہرجا اے شرر! ہم بھی تو آخر مٹنے والے ہیں

Unjustifiable is a feeling of strangeness to a companion on the way to the goal,
Wait, O spark! we ultimately are also going to fade away.

کوئی دم کا مہماں ہوں اے اہل محفل
چراغ سحر ہوں بجھا چاہتا ہوں

O members of the Assembly ! I am a guest for a few moments :
I am the morning candle, soon to be extinguished.

But, we shall soon see that this kind of pessimism is a characteristic of the poet's early verse. The optimistic note is the distinguishing feature of his later poetry. At the time of death, he is said to have recited a couplet which sums up the poet's attitude towards life :

نشان مرد مومن با تو گویم   چو مرگ آید تبسم برلب اوست

I tell you the sign of a true believer,
When death draws near, there is a smile on his lips.

The modern view of life that it is a constant struggle was poetically conceived by Iqbal, like the Greek philosophers who thought that the heavenly planets possessed life because of thier motion. Like Milton who ascribed life to the heavenly bodies. imagining them to be singing and dancing, Iqbal gives a beautiful meaning to motion in *The Moon and the Stars* :

جنبش سے ہے زندگی جہاں کی   یہ رسم قدیم ہے یہاں کی

The life of this world depends on motion,
It is an old custom ' of this planet.'

Everything is making an effort, though not entirely successfully, to remain alive :

زندہ ہر ایک چیز ہے کوشش نا تمام سے

For every living thing the struggle is without end.

the midst of all such thought, Iqbal does not the compelling impulse of life and as a young ·lieves:

عقیدہ "عشرت امروز" ھے جوانی کا

o-day's pleasure' is the creed of youth.

ie sight of a star makes the poet reflect on eper side of life. He asks the 'trembling' e reason of all fear—"Dost thou fear the " "Is it the fear of the morning?" "What ıast thou received of the end of beauty?" oet very solemnly unveils the truth that the the one is the fall of the other. The rising of n is a message of death to thousands of stars. eep *of mortality is the intoxicating effect of* ne of life The fading of the bud is the of the birth of the flower and this phase of on the brink of death passes comprehension

سکوں محال ھے قدرت کے کارخانے میں
ثبات ایک تغیر کو ھے زمانے میں!

activity is impossible in the workshop of Nature.
ie only thing that endures in time is Change.

ie philosophy of grief is a very popular theme poets, and there must be very few of them ive not been impressed by its sweetness. Iqbal own explanation:

غم نہیں غم روح کا اک نغمۂ خاموش ھے
جو سرود بربط ھستی سے ھم آغوش ھے

ıet is the silent song of the soul,
'hich 'embraces' the song (played) on the lute of life.

The unlimited possibilities of the spiritual evolution were a matter of conviction with Iqbal and his philosophical poetry abounds in such references:

اس ذرہ کو رهتی هے وسعت کی هوس هردم
یہ ذرہ نهیں شاید سمٹا هؤا صحرا هے

This particle is ever greedy of space:
It is not a particle, perhaps, it is a Sahara.

The flame of a candle attracts the moth, and as an analogy, the poet desires the possession of the 'inner light'. The question which he puts to the candle is a striking one:

از کجا این آتش عالم فروز اندوختی
کرمک بے مایہ را سوز کلیم آموختی

Whence hast thou gathered this world-lighting fire?
Thou hast taught the poor moth the 'burning zeal' of Moses.

The candle gives a befitting reply, telling the poet, "I burn because of the 'burning' in my nature and you 'light up' yourself so that you may attract the moths." This reveals the true attitude of the poet's mind towards society. He never appeared in society wearing artificial attire. As a poet his feelings were the result of a natural inspiration—he hated ostentation and posing and condemned the vain display of poetic art.

Iqbal's message to humanity, particularly to the Muslim world, has always been of hope. He stirred

his people to new life and assured them that they still have the field of achievement open to them :

اپنی اصلیّت سے ھو آگاہ اے غافل کہ تو
قطرہ ھے لیکن مثال بحر بے پایاں بھی ھے

O heedless ! acquaint thyself with thy worth, for thou
Art a drop—but art yet like a boundless ocean.

Towards the end of his interesting poem 'The Candle and the Moth' the poet foreshadows a bright future :

شب گریزاں ھوگی آخر جلوۂ خورشید سے
یہ چمن معمور ھوگا نغمۂ توحید سے

Eventually the night shall flee before the glory of the sun,
And this garden shall echo with the melody of Unity.

A very important feature of Iqbal's verse is that he always looks to the past and wants us to be cautious of the present. As he was a member of a fallen race, his primary concern as a poet was to preserve the solidarity of his people. In a way, he was a conservative, and he felt that society, while passing through a state of change was liable to lose connection with past culture and civilisation. For this reason, Iqbal was never tired of emphasising the great value of remembering the past :

ھاں یہ سچ ھے چشم بر عہد کہن رھتا ھوں میں
اھل محفل سے پرانی داستاں کہتا ھوں میں

Yea, it is true, I keep my eyes on ancient times,
And tell the members of the Assembly the old story.

The past of Islam was refulgent and in its light the poet sought the future. The present is deceptive as Muslims have lost ground and the process of decay has set in. The poet therefore perpetually looks back to the past:

سامنے رکھتا هوں اس دور نشاط افزا کو میں
دیکھتا هوں دوش کے آئینے میں فردا کو میں

I keep before my eyes that glorious period,
And I see To-morrow in the mirror of Yesterday.

Shikwah and *Jawab-i-Shikwah* are the popular poems of Iqbal. The former serves the purpose of an introduction to the latter. *Jawab-i-Shikwah* aims at social reform and *Shikwah* is a plaint, setting forth the grievances of Muslims. The plaintive note is naturally the cause of the popularity of *Shikwah*, casting *Jawab-i-Shikwah* into the background. These two poems,—one representing the Muslim's case and the other the "Divine Reply"—have had a reviving effect on Islam. *Shikwah*, as the poet's lament, must be judged from the merits of the plaint.

The philosophy of life has been interpreted in various ways by poets of all times, but Iqbal removes the dubious and dark veil of life. To him the secret of eternal life is:

پختہ تر هے گردش پیهم سے جام زندگی
هے یہی اے بےخبر راز دوام زندگی

By perpetual circulation the cup of life becomes firmer than ever,
O heedless! this is the very secret of eternal life.

تو اسے پیمانۂ امروز و فردا سے نہ ناپ
جاوداں پیہم دواں ہردم جواں ہے زندگی
زندگانی کی حقیقت کوہکن کے دل سے پوچھ
جوئے شیر و تیشہ و سنگ گراں ہے زندگی!

Do not measure life with the cup of To-day and To-morrow
Life is perpetual and young at all times.
Ask the heart of Farhad the truth of life:
Life is a stream of milk, an adze and a weighty stone.

The philosophical basis of Iqbal's *Asrar-i-Khudi* and a major portion of his other poetical works is the conception of the Self. To quote Iqbal, from his statement to Dr. Nicholson. "All life is individual; there is no such thing as Universal life. God himselt is an Individual: He is the most unique Individual (this closely resembles the theory of Imam Ahmad ibn Hanbal). The Universe, as Dr. McTaggart says, is an association of individuals; but we must add that the orderliness and adjustment which we find in this association is not eternally achieved and complete in itself. It is the result of instinctive or conscious effort. We are gradually travelling from chaos to cosmos and are helpers in this achievement. Nor are the members of the association fixed; new members are ever coming to birth to co-operate in the great task. Thus the Universe is not a completed act: it is still in the course of formation. There can be no complete truth about the Universe, for the Universe has not

yet become 'whole'. The process of creation is still going on, and man too takes his share in it, inasmuch as he helps to bring order into at least a portion of the chaos. The Koran indicates the possibility of other creators than God."

This conception of life is not in harmony with the traditions of pantheistic mysticism, which associates itself with the idea of absorption in a Universal life and looks upon such an end as salvation. Self-negation has been a common feature of many systems of thought, and the result of such teachings has been witnessed in the social deterioration of many nations. The teachings of the later Sufis of Islam were, very unfortunately, directed towards such an end. The penetrating eyes of Iqbal realised the fatal mistake and expounded the true meaning of religion, particularly Islam. "The moral and religious ideal of man is not self-negation but self-affirmation, and he attains to this ideal by becoming more and more individual, more and more unique." The statement is supported by the Prophet's saying ——*Takhallaqu bi-akhlaq illah* (Create in yourself the attributes of God) and this is a reference to the fact that man has to develop himself after the unique Self. "What then is life? It is individual: its highest form, so far, is the Ego (*Khudi*) in which the individual becomes a self-contained exclusive centre." The poet is led to think that man is not absorbed in God, but on the contrary, he absorbs

God into himself. The poet seeks support in Rumi's beautiful couplet alluding to the Prophet (while a young boy), when lost in the desert. His nurse, Halima was greatly perturbed, but while searching agitatedly for the boy in the desert, she heard a voice saying:

"Do not grieve, he will not be lost to thee;
Nay, the whole world will be lost in him."

To Iqbal, life is a forward assimilative movement and conquers all its difficulties by assimilating them and the basis of all life is "the continual creation of desires and ideals," but as matter is the greatest obstruction in the way of life, its conquest is very essential for the growth of life. The poet believes that love (*'Ishq*) strengthens the Ego and the word 'love' has a particular meaning to him——it is the desire to assimilate, and in its developed forms it creates values and ideals and endeavours to attain them. The life-giving effect of love is that it individualises the lover and the beloved (preservation of individuality is the very essence of the poet's teachings). In contradistinction to the effect of love, asking (*Su'al*) weakens the Ego and asking in its ultimate sense stands for 'inaction'. The Ego has to pass through three stages as mentioned before:

(*a*) Obedience to the Law,
(*b*) Self-control, which is the highest form of self-consciousness or Ego-hood.
(*c*) Divine vicegerency (*Niyabat-i-Ilahi*).

Obedience to the law is a training for higher ends which gives the conception of governance. Before man aspires to rule others, he must learn discipline and order in the light of Divine Law, which is a pre-requisite to order on earth. It may be pointed out that the word 'Law' refers to the *shari'at* of the Prophet. The value of self-control would be easily appreciated to-day, when man is acquiring an increasing hold over nature, while at the same time he is losing self-control. The social upheaval of to-day is due to this fact. Divine vicegerency is the representation of God on earth as revealed in the Holy Koran and aims at the establishment of "the Kingdom of God on Earth"——the democracy of unique individuals. Nietzsche had also such a conception, but the difference between the views of Iqbal and Nietzsche is quite plain. The latter was an atheist and believed in the code of Superman. He had a very high notion of aristocracy and this cast him away from the idea of divine democracy, but the belief of Nietzsche in the virtues of a strong man has affected modern thought in no small measure, and for his peculiar rashness of thought he is blamed to have provoked war. Iqbal being a Muslim believes in the representation of God on Earth. He is naturally a democrat, but his democracy is presided over by a 'unique' personality. While defending the Democracy of Islam, Iqbal wrote in *The New Era* (1916, p. 251):

"The Democracy of Europe——overshadowed by socialistic agitation and anarchical fear —— originated mainly in the economic regeneration of European societies. Nietzsche, however, abhors this 'rule of the herd' and, hopeless of the Plebeian, he bases all higher culture on the cultivation and growth of an Aristocracy of Superman. But, is the Plebeian so absolutely hopeless? The Democracy of Islam did not grow out of the extension of economic opportunity; it is a spiritual principle based on the assumption that every human being is a centre of latent power, the possibilities of which can be developed by cultivating a certain type of character. Out of the Plebeian material, Islam has formed men of the noblest type of life and power. Is not, then, the Democracy of early Islam an experimental refutation of the ideas of Nietzsche?"

The Universe, according to Iqbal, originates in the Self and on its strength depends the individual life:

خویشتن را چون خودی بیدار کرد
آشکارا عالم پندار کرد

When the Ego awakened itself,
It brought to light the Universe of thought

وا نمودن خویش را خوی خودی است
خفته در هر ذره نیروی خودی است

To show itself is the in nature of the Self,
In every particle lies dormant the strength of the Self.

The life of the Self depends upon the creation

of an object and the pursuit of this object, as life is vapid without any end in view, and nature herself helps man in that direction. Without a desire, there is nothing to live for, and it has been seen that people who have lost all desire 'to live' due to adverse circumstances, have all of a sudden been deserted by life——collapsed. The basis of life among the poor is a strong desire to cling to life in adverse circumstances and this makes them drift along. The rich being satiated with life do not appreciate the struggle:

ارزو را در دل خود زنده دار تا نگردد مشت تو خاک مزار

Keep the desire alive in thy heart,
Lest the handful of thy dust should turn into a grave.

The Self gains strength through love, which expresses the latent possibilities of an individual. It is a binding force which keeps the scattered individuals together and imparts to society the much desired strength of unity on which alone depends the social life:

از محبت می شود پاینده تر زنده تر سوزنده تر تابنده تر

(The Self) becomes more enduring through love—
More alive, more zealous, more effulgent!

The poet ultimately conceives the guiding force in *Mard-i-Kamil*, an idea so near to Nietzsche's Superman, but, as it has been explained elsewhere, the idea of Perfect Man is not alien to Persian mysticism. "Iqbal's conception bears a close resemblance to the idea of *Insan-i-Kamil*, as conceived by

Sheikh Abdul Karim ibn Ibrahim-al-Jili. Nietzsche's Superman is supposed to establish a new order. He would seek dominion over the weak. On the contrary, Iqbal believes in a unique personality, destined to establish Divine Democracy on the face of the Earth and uphold the cause of all alike:

کیمیا پیدا کن از مشت گلے   بوسه زن بر آستان کاملے

Make alchemy out of thy handful of dust
Kiss the threshold of a Perfect Man.

The personality of the Holy Prophet is the Perfect Man in the eyes of Iqbal and he describes it in the beautiful verse of Jami:

"نسخهٔ کونین را دیباچه اوست   جمله عالم بندگان و خواجه اوست"

He is the preface to the book of the two worlds
All the people of the world are slaves and he is the Master.

As the Self gathers strength through love, it conquers the visible and invisible forces of the Universe:

از محبت چون خودی محکم شود   قوتش فرمانده عالم شود

When the Self gains strength through love,
Its power becomes the ruler of the world.

As the strength of the Self is an 'object' towards which all human energy should be directed, self-negation impedes human progress in all its phases. The fall of a nation presupposes the deterioration of the Self. National awakening, on the other hand, must be preceded by the awakening

of the Self——which should be cautiously guarded against unhealthy thought that robs it of its strength. The Platonic teachings which found their way into Islamic thought through Greek philosophy have done incalculable harm to Islam. Iqbal looks upon Plato's attitude towards life as that of a sheep, because the latter denies the reality of life, as opposed to Iqbal's view——. All existence is a fact, and no nation can live for a long time without going into the secret causes of all that happens. Iqbal severely criticises Platonic views and sounds a note of warning against them. Farabi's effort to prove the similarity of thought between Aristotle and Plato in *Aljam' bain-ar-Raain* is not successful in the eyes of Iqbal.

بسکه از ذوق عمل محروم بود   جان او وارفتهٔ معدوم بود

As he (Plato) was devoid of practical taste
His soul was mad after non-existence.

The continuation of the national life is a problem for every responsible leader of a nation. Iqbal was a great lover of past traditions and his 'credo' was justifiable, since the perpetual life of a nation depends on clinging fast to national traditions. As the history of nations has proved, the survival of a group of people depends upon reverence for past traditions——. It is a cogent force that breeds affinity for the social whole.

One of the high aims of a Muslim on earth is to resort to *Jihad* to exalt the 'Word of God' and

if land-hunger is the object of *Jihad*, it is not lawful in Islam.

The Holy Prophet is the central figure in Islam——the Perfect Man of Iqbal. The poet believes that the evolution of the Islamic people depends on following the example of the Holy Prophet who reveals to man the divine way:

تا سوئے یک مدعا یش می کشد　　حلقۂ آئین بپایش می کشد

As he draws him towards a single object—
He draws a circle of laws around his feet.

The poet describes the foundation of Muslim society as based on Unity and Prophethood, and as such, it has no spatial limit and is eternal. The eternity of this chosen People is 'promised'. The solidarity of a nation cannot be ensured without a code, and the code for the Islamic people is the Holy Koran—

نوع انسان را پیام آخرین　　حامل او رحمۃ للعالمین

The final message to humanity,
Its bearer is the 'Blessing to the Worlds';

'Life is a struggle,' as Iqbal says:

سکندر با خضر خوش نکتۂ گفت
شریک سوز و ساز بحر و بر شو
تو این جنگ از کنار عرصہ بینی
بمیر اندر نبرد و زندہ تر شو

Alexander explained a 'fine point' of wisdom to Khizr.
Share the 'burning and suffering' of the sea and land,
Thou art looking at the fight from the outskirts of the arena,

Die in the battle and thus become more alive.

رفیقش گفت اے یار خرد مند   اگر خواهی حیات اندر خطر زی

His companion said, " O wise friend !
If thou desireth life, live dangerously !

Iqbal does not condemn reason ; but regards love as a superior *guide*, Iqbal, like Bergson, is an *intuitive* philosopher. The superiority of love has been recognised by all mystics, and Sanai is one of them. Iqbal says :

سفالم را مئے او جام جم کرد   درون قطره ام پوشیده یم کرد
خرد اندر سرم بتخانه ریخت   خلیل عشق دیرم را حرم کرد

His wine has turned my clay into the cup of Jamshid
And placed inside my drop, a hidden sea ;
Wisdom laid the foundation of an idol-house in my head.
The Abraham of love has turned my temple into the Haram.

Hard and unfavourable circumstances compel man to lead an unusual life, and the hardship of life imparts to the soul the strength which characterises the great men. ' Be hard ' was Nietzsche's attitude towards life. Iqbal in his ' Advice of the Eagle to His Young One' sings almost in the same tune :

بئے شاهبازاں بساط است سنگ
که بر سنگ رفتن کند تیز چنگ

For the eagles, a stone is a carpet.
As moving over the stones they sharpen thier claws.

Life is activity. This simple fact is illustrated by the poet by alluding to a wave:

موج ز خود رفتۂ تیز خرامید و گفت
هستم اگر میروم گر نروم نیستم

A wild wave rolled fast and said,
"I am, if I move, and if I don't, I am not."

Iqbal was after a new world and was always thinking of its formation. In the realm of thought, he discovered new regions and was never satisfied with the present state of things:

پرانے ہیں یہ ستارے فلک بھی فرسودہ
جہاں وہ چاہئے مجھکو کہ ہو ابھی نوخیز

These stars are old and the sky is worn out,
I want a world, which is just newly sprung!

Referring to a person, bred in a very low atmosphere, the poet makes the beautiful use of the word *Shahin*——a falcon:

وہ فریب خوردہ شاہیں جو بلا ہو کر گسوں میں
اسے کیا خبر کہ کیا ہے رہ و رسم شاہبازی!

That deceived falcon, bred amongst vultures—
How can he know anything about the ways and customs of falcons?

The attributes of a nightingale or a peacock make a nation foppish and physically weak They have nothing to do with the sterling worth of a people:

کر بلبل و طاؤس کی تقلید سے توبہ
بلبل فقط اواز ہے طاؤس فقط رنگ!

Forswear the imitation of a nightingale or a peacock,
The nightingale is nothing but a sound, the peacock is nothing but a colour!

The poet offers wholesome advice to youth:

نہ هو نو میدؔ نو میدی زوال علم و عرفاں هے
اُمید مرد مومن هے خدا کے راز دانوں میں!

Do not lose hope; despair is the decline of all knowledge.
The hope of a true believer is amongst the secret-holders of God!

The tendency of modern generation towards modern philosophy is not healthy according to Iqbal. In his poem, *A Philosophy——to the Son of a Sayyed*, the poet says.

تو اپنی خودی اگر نہ کهوتا زنّاری برگساں نہ هوتا
دل در سخن محمدی بند اے پور علی ز بو علی چند
چوں دیدهٔ راه بیں نداری
قاید قرشی بہ از بخاری

If thou hadst not lost thy own Self,
Thou wouldst not have been a follower of Bergson.
Attach thy heart to what the Prophet said,
O son of Ali! how long from Bu Ali?
When thou dost not possess the eyes that can see the way,
The Qarshi leader is better than a Bukhari.

Iqbal did not believe in philosophy which was the result of abstract reasoning:

یا مرده هے یا نزع کی حالت میں گرفتار
جو فلسفہ لکها نہ گیا خون جگر سے!

Either it is dead, or is struggling in the last stages of decay—
The philosophy which is not written with the blood of the heart.

Iqbal turned from the decadent, old system and looked for a personality who could build a new world:

دنیا کو ھے اس مہدی برحق کی ضرورت
ھو جس کی نگہ زلزلۂ عالم افکار!

The world stands in need of such a Mehdi,
Whose sight could cause an upheaval in the realm of thought.

Modern free-thought has many grave aspects. There is danger to religion, and the view of Iqbal has a special value:

ازادی افکار سے ھے ان کی تباھی   رکھتے نہیں جو فکروتدبّر کا سلیقہ

Free thinking leads to their destruction,
Who have no aptitude for original thought and independent view.

According to Iqbal, the process of creation is still going on and the freshness of thought is the primary asset for rebuilding a new world:

جہان تازہ کی افکار تازہ سے ھے نمود
کہ سنگ و خشت سے ہوتے نہیں جہاں پیدا!

A fresh world takes its appearance from fresh ideas,
For stone and brick do not create a world!

VII

IQBAL'S CONCEPTION OF LIFE

ONE night, the poet was watching a river with a 'world of disturbance' concealed in the corner of his heart. The night was calm and the river was flowing quietly. The restless wave was sleeping in the depths of the river like an infant in its cradle. The magic of the night had held the birds in the nests as captives and the dim stars were caught in the talisman of the moon. All of a sudden, Khizr, who even in his old age had the elasticity of youth, appeared and said to the poet: "If the eye of the heart be open, the destiny of the world is unveiled." The poet then questioned Khizr:

چھوڑکر آبادیاں رہتا ہے تو صحرا نورد
زندگی تیری ہے بے روز و شب و فردا و دوش
زندگی کا راز کیا ہے؟ سلطنت کیا چیز ہے؟
اور یہ سرمایہ و محنت میں ہے کیسا خروش؟

Away from populated areas, thou keep'st roaming the desert,
And thy life is without day and night, without To-morrow and Yesterday.
What is the secret of life? What is Sultanet?
And what is this noisy conflict between Capital and Labour?

And Khizr replied:

کیوں تعجب ھے مری صحرا نوردی پر تجھے
یہ تگاپوئے دمادم زندگی کی ھے دلیل

Why dost thou wonder at my roaming the desert.
This constant motion is the sign of life.

پختہ تر ھے گردش پیہم سے جام زندگی
ھے یہی اے بیخبر راز دوام زندگی!

Constant circulation makes the cup of life all the more durable,
O thoughtless one! this is the very secret of life!

اپنی دنیا آپ پیدا کر اگر زندوں میں ھے
سرّ آدم ھے ضمیر کن فکاں ھے زندگی!

Create thy own world, if thou art among the living,
Life is the secret of Adam: It is the conscience of *Kun-fakan*——Creation.

Such is the dynamic view of Iqbal on life, as contrasted with the teachings of so many Eastern thinkers and poets. The primary instinct of life——self-preservation is the basis of all his thought. The poet supported this view during a private discussion with one of his friends: 'Undoubtedly, in order to strengthen the Self, its consciousness is very essential, but preservation of the Self is a natural instinct, of which no object in the Universe is devoid. Hence, there is the possibility of eternal life for every person, whatever his stage of consciousness. This instinct is as common as life. (Islam stands for the nature of God, the ultimate reality which must form the basis of all life.) Look! I give you an

example for illustration. There is a plank before you. If you try to lift it, what will you have to overcome? Resistance, of course! You would say, resistance is in its nature. Hence, what is the property of life?——Self-preservation. And this law of nature is prevalent everywhere."

This explains the fact that the poet traces life to the behaviour of the Self, which is a fundamental potential force that keeps the system going. The conception of the Self has a direct relation with mysticism but the entity of the Self, its behaviour and end have been confused by the mystics. The doctrine of self-negation strikes at the root of all human progress and this was perhaps the greatest intellectual calamity that overtook the Eastern nations The result of the ancient lore and inactivity, as seen by Iqbal in the *Khankah* and tavern together with his modern education and experience brought him into contact with the optimistic side of life, as expounded in nature. It has been often said that the philosophy of Iqbal had been influenced by Western thinkers, but Iqbal himself maintains (as he wrote to Dr. Nicholson)—"The philosophy of the *Secrets* is based on the thought and observations of Muslim saints and philosophers. Even Bergson's conception of time is nothing new to the Sufis. The Koran is not a book of metaphysics. All what has been said in it, relating to life and after life is definite. Although it has a direct relation

with metaphysical problems.' When an educated Muslim of modern times describes these points which have their origin in the Koran, in the light of religious experience and thought, it should not be understood that the new thought is being presented in the old garb. It should be rather said that the old truths are being put forth in the light of modern thought."

Idealism has been very popular with poets. An inclination towards inactivity in the garb of *Sukun* has almost become the essence of Eastern poetry, particularly Persian, and the reason is obvious. Iqbal chalked out a new line for himself, singing with Rumi:

زیں همرهان سست عناصر دلم گرفت

He focussed his attention on the Self, being the centre of all activity and on which alone depends the survival of man. Naturally he could not agree with Plato, whose philosophy later influenced by Plotinus, found its way into Persian mysticism which was responsible for self-immolation and renunciation of the world. Plato looked upon the world as having two sides. To him the outward appearance of all objects was illusory and the reality was imperceptible. Consequently, Platonic teachings led his followers to attach greater importance to reality which is imperceptible, hence a disregard for "this-worldliness."

Iqbal renounced the philosophy of Plato with

all the force at his command. He speaks of him as 'the leader of the old herd of sheep' and as Platonic philosophy dug its roots deep in Iran, Iqbal is opposed to Persian mysticism (noted for ascetic renunciation of the world and intellectual pessimism) and admires the practical Arabian thought and life, as inspired by the Koran. He equally deprecates Hindu and Budhistic philosophy. of transmigration and self-negation, which developed a complete disregard on the part of man for the responsibilities of life and brought to nought human greatness.

Iqbal's philosophy of life may be traced back to——

انا عرضناالامانة علىالسموات والارض فا بنا ان يحملنها
واشفقنا منها و حملهاالانسان انه كان ظلوما جهولا۔

"Verily we proposed to the Heavens and to the Earth, and to the mountains to receive the 'Trust,' but they refused the burden and they feared to receive it. Man undertook to bear it, but hath proved unjust, senseless!" (33 : 72). That is the 'Trust' which the skies and the earth refused to bear was responsible for the growth of the personality and the consciousness of the Self ....This contributed to his greatness, and this gave him dominion over the world. To revert to his views, the Self is the basis of all life. Life is constant activity and creates new desires and ends every day; this leads to its extension and preservation. Nature is

an obstacle in the way of self-development and its conquest is essential. The conception of Iqbal's Self gives great importance to the individual, but the development of an individual is not possible without an effective descipline and code for society. Iqbal believes that the loss of self-consciousness on the part of an individual or society directly leads to its absorption into another stronger individual or society (the view resembles that of Ibn-i-Khaldun). So the best way of preserving an individual or a society is to keep alive the 'active element' in life,—adaptation to new circumstances.

Very naturally, Iqbal, being a teacher of dynamic life, admires the Eagle Spirit, (it reminds one of Nietzsche); in other words, he hates weakness and regards inactivity as a curse of social life. A victim of tyranny is as blamable as a tyrant—he creates an opportunity for the practice of tyranny. Power is a dominating feature of Iqbal's conception of lite and its demonstration is to live dangerously:

اگر خواهی حیات اندر خطر زی

If thou desireth life, live dangerously (enterprisingly) !

Besides, the poet's aesthetic taste sees beauty in power, and the art of Iqbal is no less a demonstration of power Referring to the Taj, while discussing the architectural art of Islamic buildings, the poet once said: "It does not reflect the quality of Quvvat-ul-Islam. Like the buildings of the later periods, it has also suffered in the 'power element'

and in fact this element of power keeps up the balance of beauty."

From the same point of view, the poet hated static philosophy or literature. The element of *Taqlid* (Imitation) in all departments of life breeds inactivity. Mysticism relies on *Taqlid* and similarly politics, philosophy and poetry. Differentiating between Bedil and Ghalib, the poet once remarked that the mysticism of the former is dynamic and that of the latter is 'inclined to be static' and as the poetry of Nasir Ali Sarhindi has little to do with *Taqlid*, his poetry is very popular among the active people of Afghanistan and Bukhara. Bedil is also popular in Afghanistan.

According to Iqbal, the origin of the Universe is in the Self:

پیکر هستی ز آثار خودی است
هرچه می بینی ز اسرار خودی است

The form of existence is an effect of the Self,
All that thou seest is a secret of the Self.

Demonstration is the nature of the Self. In every particle lies dormant the power of the Self, and as the life of the Universe depends upon the Self, life is in proportion to its strength. The continuation of life depends upon an object or a goal, and its endless pursuit is the secret of life. It is not the wild growth of human life which is to be looked upon as the object of man.

The philosophy of Iqbal lays great emphasis on

individual protection, but the poet is not forgetful of the welfare of society and the secret of individual evolution in society. The conception of the Self draws a circle round the individual, and within that circle the individual is independent, but the social circle is a wider sphere for the development of the social Self:

فرد را ربط جماعت رحمت است
جوهر او را کمال از ملّت است

Social bond is a blessing to the individual,
His essence gains perfection in society.

The poet further suggests that the existence of national life depends upon the conquest of Universal forces:

کاروان را رهگذر است این جهان
نقد مومن‌را عیار است این جهان
گیر او را تا نه او گیرد ترا
همچو مے اندر سبو گیرد ترا

This world is a pathway for the caravan,
This world is a touchstone for the coin of the true believer.
Hold it, so that it may not hold thee—
Like wine in the vat, it holds thee!

Eternal life, as viewed by the poet is the constant pursuit of a goal, desire constituting the very water of life:

اگر ز رمز حیات آگهی مجوے و مگیر
دلے که از خلش خار آرزو پاک است

If thou art aware of the secret of life, do not seek and take
The heart that is free from the prick of the thorn of desire.

Life is a forward march and a constant struggle—

چو موج خیز و بہ یم جاودانہ مے آویز
کرانہ مے طلبی بے خبر کرانہ کجا ست

Rise like a wave and always keep struggling with the sea!
Dost thou seek the shore, O ignorant one! where is the shore?

We are travellers and are leaving everything behind:

شایان جنون ما پہنائے دو گیتی نیست
این راہگزر ما را آن راہگزر ما را

The vastness of the two worlds does not befit our 'madness',
This is a passage for us, *that* is a passage for us

'An endless search for a new world and every time a fresh demand' is the poetic inspiration under which the poet himself led the life of a *Mujahid*:

ہر زماں یک تازہ جولانگاہ می خواہم ازو
تا جنون فرمائے من گوید دگر ویرانہ نیست

Every time, I demand a fresh play-ground from Him,
Till my 'ordainer of madness' says. "There is no other waste!"

VIII

HIS THOUGHTS ON SELF, FREEDOM AND IMMORTALITY

THE questions concernig the human ego, its freedom and immortality, have agitated the minds of great philosophers in all ages. Iqbal looks upon these questions in two ways. As a poet his inspiration is intuitive, and as a philosopher he takes us through a labyrinth of reasoning. The poet only sees and speaks. The philosopher discusses the intricate problems in his own terms and presents the subject to us in philosophical values with due regard to modern philosophy and its great achievements in the domain of psychology. Iqbal, as a Muslim philosopher, proves the experience of life in the light of the Holy Koran.

"The Koran emphasises the individuality and uniqueness of man. It has a definite view of his destiny as a unity of life, and clearly points out—

(*i*) That man is the chosen of God.

(*ii*) That man, with all his faults, is meant to be the representative of God on Earth.

(*iii*) That man is the trustee of a free personality which he accepted at his peril."

These truths form the basis of Iqbal's philosophy of the Self and other allied problems. He attaches great importance to "the meaning of the unity of inner experience which the Koran declares to be one of the three sources of knowledge, the other two being history and nature ...... "This experience in the religious life of Islam," says the philosopher, "reached its culmination in the well-known words of Hallaj—'I am the creative truth' —The true interpretation of his experience, therefore, is not the drop falling back into the sea, but the realisation and bold affirmation in an undying phrase of the reality and permanence of the human ego in a profounder personality." That is to say the philosopher approaches the Self through the intuitive experience of a mystic saint of Islam and proves the great importance of the ego and its ultimate destiny. Such an experience has its scientific value and can, in no way, be ignored while testing the value of human experience. Purely dialectic approach to such questions, as the ego and its immortality, is not of much help. Scientific materialism does not help us either. Unfortunately, the purely subjective aspect of inner experience makes the scientific knowledge of such questions extremely difficult. The two domains of knowledge, material and psychological, are quite different from each other—not to say independent. A scientist may deny the reality of the ego, but

he has no *locus standi*. Hypothetically, the ego is beyond the domain of matter, yet it has a connection with matter. The questions of the freedom and immortality of the ego presuppose that the ego survives even after death. Some of the modern philosophers have not been able to recognise the reality of the ego. Bradley discovers " the finite centre of experience to be infected with irreconcilable opposition of change and permanence, unity and diversity ; the ego is a mere illusion........ Yet he has to admit that the Self must be in some sense real ; in some sense an indubitable fact. .....The finite centre of experience (according to Iqbal) is real even though its reality is too profound to be intellectualised."

So the entity of the Self is not easily comprehensible. The mere fact that the conception of the Self is a dubious affair is not equivalent to a plain denial, particularly when the futility of reason in higher questions of psychology and metaphysics is self-evident. It may not be disputed that the value of individual experience is not scientifically appreciable by the observer, but, the value of such an experience to the individual is a reality. A philosopher, unless he has that mystic aptitude which brings man into close communion with reality, is incapable of grasping the value of the experience, but then again, the experience is inexpressible in material terms. Such are the handicaps in the way

of realising the Self and its behaviour which manifests itself in the unity of experience. "I do not mean to say," says Iqbal, "that the ego is over and above the mutually penetrating multiplicity we call experience. Inner experience is the ego at work. We appreciate the ego itself in the act of perceiving, judging, and willing. The life of the ego is a kind of tension, caused by the ego invading the environment and the environment invading the ego. The ego does not stand outside this arena of mutual invasion. It is present in it as a directive energy and is formed and disciplined by its own experience. The Koran is clear on this directive function of the ego: 'And they ask thee of the soul. Say: the soul proceedeth, from my Lord's *Amr* (command), but of knowledge only a little to you is given,'" (17: 87).

So in the light of the Koran, Iqbal defines the ego as the directive function which may not be perfectly comprehended. It is through experience that we can grasp the reality of the Self.

The question of the freedom of the Self is as intricate as the possibility and the experience of the Self itself. The fact that the Self is a directive force alludes to the free capacity of the Self for motion; otherwise the meaning of direction would be wholly lost and the mere functioning of the Self would be an impossibility. The Self expresses itself through motion (activity) a kind of instinctive urge which manifests itself as life in the

Universe. "Thus the element of guidance and directive control," says Iqbal, "in the ego's activity clearly shows that the ego is a free personal causality." Lack of freedom on the part of the ego would impede the natural working of the system, but that does not imply the absence of the influence of the Universal forces. The power to act forcibly undergoes a change according to circumstances. "The rise and fall of the power to act freely is an important fact of human psychology and Islam is anxious to retain the power to act freely as a constant and undiminished factor in the life of the ego....... Prayer in Islam is the ego's escape from mechanism to freedom." So the ego activity may vary from time to time, and a constant vigilance to maintain the freedom is essential. Another important question in connection with the ego is its immortality. We are constantly living under a big question mark--What is death? And what happens after death? A materialist's view, that man is a machine and that human life comes to an end as soon as the machine goes out of order, does not appeal to us on the mere ground that life would lose its meaning, and the present struggle would not be worth the while. A strong urge and belief of the mind of man in survival is the intuitive proof of the immortality of the ego. "It is open to man," according to the Koran, "to belong to the meaning of the Universe and become immor-

tal........It is highly improbable that a being whose evolution has taken millions of years should be thrown away as a thing of no value. But it is only an evergrowing ego that can belong to the meaning of the Universe." *This is intended to show that* the work of nature is not meaningless. The Universal forces with all the diversity and change are conducting the system through an evolutionary process. That matter is indestructible is a scientific truth. So the contrary view about the ego involves the loss of meaning to life. Yes, the ego passes through a process of change. " It is the deed that prepares the ego for dissolution, or disciplines him for future career. The principle of the ego-sustaining deed is respect for the ego in myself as well as in others. Personal immortality, then, is not ours as of right; it is to be achieved by personal effort. Man is only a candidate for it," and this implies a perpetual struggle in life which is the key-note of Iqbal's teachings. As the entity of the human ego is a fact, it is free to act but the maintenance of such a freedom depends upon an effort to retain it. Similarly personal immortality involves a struggle to that end. Iqbal gave expression to these views more beautifully in his poetry which guides mankind through this mortal passage to a life beyond this life:

ضمیر کن فکاں غیر از تو کس نیست
نشان بے نشاں غیر از تو کس نیست

قدم بیباک تر نہ در رہ زیست
بہ پہنائے جہاں غیر از تو کس نیست

The Conscience of Creation, there is none other than thyself :
Sign without a sign, there is none other than thyself.
Place thy foot more fearlessly in the way of life,
In the vastness of the world, there is none other than thyself.

The above quatrain discloses the significance of man in the Universe. His uniqe greatness lies in being the very Conscience of Creation. The Koran has described man as the 'noblest of creation,' and as evolution regards man as progressive, the belief that the human career comes to an end with physical death becomes a psychological paradox which disturbs the mind. The poet's lines are so many rays of hope —and satisfies the natural demand of the Self for survival. We are only moving towards another stage. This is not going to be the end, why lose heart?

کھو نہ جا اس سحر و شام میں اے صاحب ہوش!
اک جہاں اور بھی ہے جس میں نہ فردا ہے نہ دوش

Do not be lost in this 'morning and evening.' O master of senses!
There is yet another world, which has neither To-morrow, nor Yesterday.

Physical death does not bring the drama to a close:

یہ نکتہ میں نے سیکھا بوالحسن سے
کہ جاں مرتی نہیں مرگ بدن سے

I have learnt this point from Abul-Hasan (Ali),
That the soul does not perish with bodily death.

The poet's attitude towards death is best understood in his statement to most of his friends, particularly to a German Baron, who was the poet's personal friend and who visited him the day before his death: "I am not afraid of death--I am a Muslim and shall welcome death with a smiling countenance."

The poet's optimistic belief in the human ego, its freedom and immortality is purely an Islamic view and is calculated to make the believers fearless, always struggling for higher ends on the way to immortality. Such a conception automatically ascribes a great value and meaning to good acts in this life and in the life to come:

"Heaven and Hell are states, not localities. Their descriptions in the Koran are visual representations of an inner fact, *i.e.*, character. Hell in the words of the Koran is 'God's kindled fire which mounts above the hearts'—the painful realisation of one's failure as a man. Heaven is the joy of triumph over the forces of disintegration. There is no such thing as eternal damnation in Islam. The word 'eternity used in certain verses, relating to Hell is explained by the Koran itself to mean only a period of time (78 : 23). Time cannot be wholly irrelevant to the development of personality. Character tends to become permanent; its reshaping must require time. Hell, therefore, as conceived by the Koran, is not a pit of everlasting torture,

inflicted by a revengeful God; it is a corrective experience which may make a hardened ego once more sensitive to the living breeze of Divine Grace. Nor is heaven a holiday. Life is one and continuous. Man marches always onward to receive ever fresh illuminations from an infinite reality which 'every moment appears in a glory'. And the recipient of divine illumination is not merely a passive recipient. Every act of a free ego creates a new situation, and thus offers further opportunities of creative unfolding."

Man should carry on the interminable struggle to the 'lip of the grave':

از ناله بر گلستان آشوب محشر آور
تا دم به سینه پیچد مگذار هائے و هو را

By thy cry create the tumult of Resurrection in the garden:
Do not give up the hue and cry till the breath is suffocated in thy breast

An endless desire gives an endless impulse to life:

گفتم که شوق سیر نبردش به منزلے
گفتا که منزلش به همین شوق مضمر است

I said, "The desire to move did not take it (life) to the goal.'
He said, 'Its goal is hidden in this very desire"

The fundamental note in Iqbal's philosophic thought is that of the Self which he struck with all his might throughout his life and the following lines are a comprehensive reverbration of his

inspiring songs:

وجود کوهسار و دشت و در هیچ
جهان فانی، خودی باقی، دگر هیچ
دگر از شنکر و منصور کم گوے
خدا را هم براه خویشتن جوے
بخود گم بهر تحقیق خودی شو
اناالحق گوے و صدیق خودی شو

The existence of mountains and wilderness, is all nothing!
The world is perishable, the Self is eternal and every other thing is nothing!
Don't talk of Shankar and Mansur any more,
Seek God, in thy own way.
Be lost in thy own Self, for the verification of the Self,
Say, "I am the creative truth", and bear testimony to the truth of the Self.

IX

THE MYSTIC ELEMENT IN IQBAL

"HIS verse can rouse or persuade even if his logic fails to convince," wrote Dr. R. A. Nicholson in his introduction to the *Secrets of the Self* (*Asrar-i-Khudi*) in 1920, when Iqbal's later works of sterling worth, such as the *Piam-i-Mashriq*, *Zabur-i-'Ajam* and *Javid Nama* and his lectures, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* had not yet appeared. The value of the poet's philosophic thought is sufficiently clear to-day and requires no proof. What Dr. Nicholson means to say is that the poet appeals to the heart, rather than to the mind This was quite natural. Iqbal derived his inspiration from such mystic Persian poets as Sanai and Rumi and inherited a specific mystic element in his poetry as a natural consequence, but his mysticism is not of the kind which was developed by the pseudo-mystic poets. Iqbal hated and deprecated their teachings. He was a philosopher, but, for the true estimation of his philosophy, a very important fact should never be lost sight of, namely, that he was also a poet. He did not belittle the importance of reason, but he certainly attached

a far greater value to intuition—an experience which in a poet takes the mystic form. The poet used philosophy as a means to an end, and the means of approach to Reality through philosophy being limited, the poet had to rely on poetic inspiration, closely allied to mystic experience in its highly developed forms. In order to guard against a wrong impression which the use of the word 'mysticism' in connection with Iqbal's poetry may convey, it must be constantly borne in mind that the poet was a mystic in the trans-physical domain of Reality. As such, his thought has a specific and rare value. The mystic element in Iqbal is not the result of despair. It is rather the optimism of the poet who aspires to have a plunge into the deeper regions of inner experience, without which the poetry of Iqbal would lose so much meaning and inspiration, and no conception of truth can be called complete without such experience, the ultimate reality of life being spiritual. The inner experience made Iqbal bold and created an urge in his mind to mould the world according to his will and not to adapt himself to circumstances:

گفتند جهـــان ما آیا بتو می سازد
گفتم که نمی سازد' گفتند که برهم زن

They said, "Is our world agreeable to thee?"
I said, "No, it is not!"—*They* said, "Upset it!"

خودی کو کر بلنـد اتنا کہ ہر تقدیر سے پہلے
خدا بندے سے خود پوچھے بتا تیری رضا کیا ہے

Raise the Self to such a height that before destiny,
God should ask man," What dost thou desire ? "

The higher flights into the heavens and the far-sightedness that *Dervishism* (Iqbal attaches specific meaning to this word) implies, can only be understood in relation to inner experience.

امین راز ہے مرداں حر کی درویشی
کہ جبرئیل سے ہے اسکو نسبت خویشی

The *Dervishism* of freemen is a secret-holder,
For, it has a close relation with Gabriel.

The dynamic philosophy of Iqbal which he teaches in his poetical works aims at bringing about a revolutionary change in the decaying social system. The poet had to fight against the forces of decay. So he fearlessly criticised the enervating pseudo-mystical thought of the later Sufis, which possessed the properties of opium and which had totally robbed society of all activity The poet's grief is tremendous

کسے خبر کہ سفینے ڈبو چکی کتنے
فقیہ و صوفی و شاعر کی ناخوش اندیشی

Who knows how many boats it has sunk.
The unhappy thought of the jurist the Sufi and the poet.

The deep colour of intuition that characterises the poetry of Iqbal may be justified in the words of the poet-philosopher himself.

"The heart is a kind of inner intuition or insight, which, in the beautiful words of Rumi, feeds on the rays of the sun and brings us into contact with aspects of Reality other than those open to sense-perception. It is, according to the Quran, something which 'sees' and its reports, if properly interpreted, are never false. We must not, however, regard it as a mysterious special faculty; it is rather a mode of dealing with Reality in which sensation, in the physiological sense of the word, does not play any part. Yet the vista of experience thus opened to us is as real and concrete as any other experience. To describe it as psychic, mystical, or supernatural does not detract from its value as experience."

Intuition as a particular source of the poet's knowledge distinguishes his verse from modern poetry and its value is all the more enhanced when one sees that the materialistic trend of the modern mind is largely responsible for the loss of balance in contemporary society.

اقبال نے کل اہل خیاباں کو سنایا
یہ شعر نشاط آور پر سوز و طربناک
میں صورت گل دست صبا کا نہیں محتاج
کرتا ہے مرا جوش جنوں میری قبا چاک!

Iqbal recited yesterday to the people of the garden—
This verse, so pleasant, inspiring and entertaining,
"Like a flower, I do not stand in need of the hand of the zephyr,
The overflow of my passion itself rends my garment as under."

Iqbal defines the difference between intuition and the knowledge of sense-perception:

حوابش داد اں مرغ حق اندیش
تو مے بینی و من دانم کہ آب است

That right-thinking bird replied to him,
"Thou seest, but I know, that it is water"

The mystic element in the poetry of Iqbal adds to the value of his message to humanity concerning moral and spiritual purification and has made him the foremost spiritual leader of his time. The poet, inspired by the religious traditions of Islam, has made a unique contribution to world literature. His verse reminds the student of his works of the noblest thought in Islamic literature. His writings are the result of evolution in Islamic thought. He was, at the same time, a *Mujahid* (a fighter in the name of God), and a Sufi in the sense that his acquaintance with the reality of life gave infinite inspiration to his poetic thought. The words such as *Faqir*, *Dervish* and *Qalandar* interpret the conscience of the poet that he considered himself as one in the line of the great saints who had been the standard-bearers of Islam. His spiritual attachment to Rumi (whom he addresses as Murshid-i-Rumi) and his devotion to the Holy Prophet amply explain the poet's mind. His attitude towards unIslamic mysticism was inimical, but, at the same time, he was an admirer of the type of mysticism, advocated by Rumi and Sanai. The mystic element in con-

temporary society has vanished before the revolutionary philosophy of materialism. He almost stood alone 'like a tulip in the desert':

در جہاں مثل چراغ لالۂ صحرا ستم
نے نصیب محفلے' نے قسمت کاشانۂ

In the world, I am like the lamp of a tulip in the desert—
Neither the fortune of an assembly, nor the lot of an abode.

In the early poetry of Iqbal are found traces of traditional mysticism, but that is because he adopted the familiar mode of expression as he could not free himself from the traditions of the past Later on, while writing Persian poetry, his breath is warm and it is no exaggeration to say that he breathed a new life into contemporary society:

نوائے من بہ عجم آتش کہن افروخت
عرب ز نغمۂ شوقم ہنوز بے خبر است

My voice has rekindled the old fire in 'Ajam,
Arabia is yet unaware of my rapturous song.

One important aspect of Iqbal's mystic trend of thought is that he regards love as a true guide, and to him, it is far surer than reason:—

خرد کی گتھیاں سلجھا چکا میں
مرے مولا مجھے صاحب جنوں کر

I have unraveled the tangles of wisdom
O God! grant me 'madness'!

دل من روشن از سوز درون است
جهان بین چشم من از اشک خون است
ز رمز زندگی بیگانه تر باد
کسی کو عشق را گوید جنون است

My heart is illuminated by my inner burning;
My eye sees the world through blood-coloured tears
May he be a stranger to the secret of life who speaks of love as 'madness'!

In the later years of his life, the poet's inclination towards mysticism seems to have gained strength. The new problems of life and the rash growth of materialism, with a corresponding disregard for spiritual reality, appear to have inspired his poetry

دل بینا بھی کر خدا سے طلب   آنکھ کا نور دل کا نور نہیں

Demand a *seeing* heart also from God!
The light of the eye is not the light of the heart.

تند و سبک سیر ہے گرچہ زمانے کی رو
عشق خود اک سیل ہے سیل کو لیتا ہے تھام

Although furious and fast is the wave of time,
Love is a torrent and it checks the torrent

X

A SPIRITUAL DISCIPLE OF RUMI

THE sweet mystic tinge which gives the poetry of Iqbal a nearer approach to the heart is traceable to his source of inspiration—the great Rumi, who was one of the leaders of mystic thought in Asia. Jalal-ud-Din Rumi was born at Balkh in 1207 A.D. and died in 1273 A.D. He lived the greater part of his life at Konya, the ancient Iconium, and there founded the Order of *Maulvi Dervishes.* He is the author of the famous *Mathnawi* which comprises three volumes—*Daftars.* The *Mathnawi* has great importance in being the best known work of mysticism and has a special value in modern philosophy. The work of Rumi is the effect of inspiration, as he says:

این که گفتم هم نبد جز بیخودی

What I have said would not be but that it has sprung from ecstacy.

Whatever the value of such an inspiration from a scientific point of view, it cannot be denied that the appreciation of such a genius depends upon 'Taste' as Rumi says:

من لم یذق لم یدری

He, who has not tasted, does not know.

Such an inspiration and 'Taste' characterise the poetry of Iqbal, who is never tired of paying tribute to the great mystic saint and clearly acknowledges him to be the source of his inspiration. Rumi was a spiritual disciple of Shams of Tabriz and was an admirer of Hakim Sanai, whom he describes as *Josh-i-Kamil.* Iqbal says:

آں حکیم غیب' اں صاحب مقام
ترک جوش رومی از ذکرش تمام

The peculiar conditions, combined with a strong religious sense gave birth to the abundance of mystic sentiments in those days, and the works of Rumi and other mystic saints are valuable data of inner experience. The age of Iqbal is decidedly different from that of the above-mentioned saints, but the religious sense of Iqbal, the Sufistic traditions of his family and his vast study in Islamic learning of which his work, *The Development of Metaphysics in Persia* loudly speaks, were all responsible for the shaping of Iqbal's mind. The deplorable present day indifference to religion and the ruthless disregard for the spiritual side of things sharpened the poet's spiritual sense. It must be noted that Iqbal's *Mathnawi--Asrar-o-Rumuz* is different in its fundamental philosophy, although the inspiration from Rumi is there. Like the great mystic, he does not believe in self-abandonment and has no sympathy with Rumi's pantheistic creed. To him, life is the realisation, expression

and preservation of the Self, as opposed to the absorption of the Self into the Universal Self. The virtues of the ultimate reality, God, should be copied by the Self in the light of *Takhallaqu-bi-akhlaq-illah*, but at the same time, the doctrine of the merging of the Self into God to the extent, that it should lose its entity, has no place in Iqbal's teachings. On the contrary, the Self, according to him, should absorb the Uniqueness of God. Such is the philosophy of Iqbal. It may not be so well visualised as clear-cut philosophical propositions, because it is the poetic conception that he conveys to us. While judging the actual value of thought along with its merits, it must never be forgotten that Iqbal was a poet. The metre of *Asrar-o-Rumuz* is that of Rumi's *Mathnawi* and the manner of drawing moral lessons from the tales of saints, a characteristic of Rumi, finds favour with Iqbal whose language and idiom are classical. His use of Arabic phrases, allusions to historical events and Sufistic references in the *Asrar-o-Rumuz* remind the reader of the great *Mathnawi*. Rumi is to Iqbal what Virgil was to Dante. The poet pays a tribute to Rumi in the introductory verses of *Asrar-i-Khudi*:

پیر رومی خاک را اکسیر کرد   از غبارم جلوه ها تعمیر کرد
ذره از خاک بیابان رخت بست   تا شعاع آفتاب آرد بدست
موجم و در بحر او منزل کنم   تا در تابندهٔ حاصل کنم
من که مستی ها ز صهبایش کنم   زندگانی از نفسهایش کنم

The Old Man of Rum turned my dust into Elixir,
From my dust he 'raised' the lights,
The particle packed its wardrobe from the desert,
So that it may catch the ray of the sun.
I am a wave and take my abode in his sea,
So that I may obtain a lustrous pearl.
I, who derive intoxication from his wine,
Live a life through his breath.

And a little further on:

روی خود بنمود پیر حق سرشت   کو به حرف پهلوی قرآن نوشت
گفت ای دیوانهٔ ارباب عشق   جرعه‌ای گیر از شراب ناب عشق

There appeared the Master, moulded in Truth,
Who wrote the Quran in Persian.
He said, 'O thou, lost in the frenzy of love,
Take a draught of Love's pure wine.'

Among the many points of similarity between Rumi and Iqbal the most important is that Iqbal attaches a great value to the inner experience, and his doubts of pure reason as a guide to knowledge and exaltation of love proceed from the same reason. This particular aspect of Iqbal's philosophy is also manifest even in his *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam.* Referring to a passage from the works of Sheikh Ahmad of Sarhind, the poet writes:

"Whatever may be the psychological ground of the distinctions made in this passage, it gives us at least some idea of a whole universe of inner experience, as seen by a great reformer of Islamic Sufism. According to him this *Alam-i-Amr i. e.*,

'the world of directive energy' must be passed through before one reaches that unique experience which symbolizes the purely objective."

The passage throws light on the poet's attitude towards the perception of reality through inner experience. Such a capacity to recognize reality depends upon the development of the heart, as Rumi describes it:—

> "The Sufi's book is not the blackness of letters and words; *it is naught but a heart as white as snow.*
> Like a huntsman he goes after the game, he sees the musk-deer's steps, and follows upon the traces.
> To proceed one stage in search of the musk-bag is better than a hundred stages and the steps (taken) in circumambulating (the Kaaba)."

Like Rumi, the voice of Iqbal comes from the inner depths of his heart, hence his great influence. As it was the greatest need, Iqbal aimed at religious revival, and instituted social reform. His religious-mindedness was the most effective force that he made use of.

Rumi's *Mathnawi* is read all over India, Afghanistan, Persia, Central Asia and Turkey and has been a very popular book of verse in Sufistic circles, but ignorant Sufis have distorted the meaning of Rumi's teachings. Not only this, but with the decline of Muslims, the optimistic message of such books as the *Mathnawi* failed to appeal to their taste, and words such as—*Saqi*, *Shisha*, *Mai*, *Ma'shuq* and *Mutrib* only echoed their sentiments. The meaning

of the *Mathnawi* and its inspiration to Iqbal revived a great interest in Rumi's verse and went a long way to launch a movement for the correct interpretation of the mystic theme of the *Mathnawi*. There has come into existence a new school of criticism which judges the value of such works with reference to life. Much of the haze on the mystic way has now been dispelled.

Throughout his works Iqbal makes references to Rumi which throw light on the kind of inspiration he derived. In his dedicatory verses to the ex-King Amanullah Khan in *Piam-i-Mashriq*, the poet says:

مرشد رومی حکیم پاک زاد
سرّ مرگ و زندگی بر ما کشاد

The spiritual saint Rumi—the philosopher of holy origin,
Opened the secret of life and death to us.

And then under *Jalal and Hegel*:

. . . .

چهره بنمود پیر یزدانی
افتابے کہ از تجلّی او
افق روم و شام نورانی
شعله اش در جهان تیره نهاد
به بیابان چراغ رهبانی

The divine Old Man appeared—
A sun whose rays light up
The horizon of Rum and Sham.
His flame in this world of darkness (is)
Like a hermit's lamp in the desert.

In *Javid Nama*, Rumi is the guide of Iqbal in

his trip to the higher regions and Rumi explains to the poet various secrets such as:

بر مقام خود رسیدن زندگی است
ذات را بے پردہ دیدن زندگی است
مرد مومن در نسازد باصفات
مصطفیٰ راضی نشد الا بذات

To reach one's own destination is life.
To see the Self 'unveiled' is life.
A believer is not satisfied with the attributes,
Mustafa was not content, but with the (knowledge of the ultimate) Self.

Rumi's guidance of Iqbal to various planets is a proof of the poet's flight of thought which he enjoyed in the company of Rumi. It also points to the spiritual vision of Rumi. It is beyond doubt that when the poet refers to Rumi, it is often Iqbal himself who speaks, but then its value as an inspiration is not lost.

In his poem *Pir-o-Murid,* in which the poet discusses the various problems of the day concerning contemporary knowledge, soul and other things, the dialogue occurs between two persons—Murid-i-Hindi and Pir-i-Rumi. Murid-i-Hindi is very likely Iqbal himself. The dialogue is of exceptional interest as revealing the mind of Iqbal:

مرید هندي

علم حاضر سے ہے دیں زار و زبوں   چشم بینا سے ہے جاری جوئے خوں

پیر رومی

علم را برتن زنی مارے بود   علم را بردل زنی یارے بود!

Indian Disciple—

A stream of blood flows from the *seeing* eye,
Due to modern knowledge, religion is in a miserable state.

Pir-i-Rumi—

If you strike knowledge on the body, it becomes a snake!
If you strike knowledge on the heart, it becomes a friend!

XI

THE AWAKENER OF ISLAM

DURING the ninteenth century Islam was drifting towards a crisis. The fall of the Moghul Empire was a *fait accompli* towards the close of the eighteenth century, but it lingered on till 1857, and the Muslims of India found themselves in the throes of a great struggle. The Afghans were engaged in internecine wars. Turkistan was a playground for international diplomacy. In Iran, the process of decay had been accelerated by foreign influence and the socio-religious chaos was giving birth to new forces. The Ottoman Empire had fallen a prey to domestic disorder and foreign intrigues. The condition of Egypt was far from satisfactory. In these dark days, the famous Pan-Islamist, Syed Jamal-ud-Din Afghani, was moving all over the Muslim world, asking Muslims to stand united and to take note of the reality of change. He emphasised the importance of religious and social reform. The Syed visited Paris, London, Berlin and Moscow to use his influence on foreign Powers in favour of Islamic centres.

The Syed died in the last decade of the nineteenth century, but he left all over the Islamic

world the miniatures of his Self. India felt his influence. Egypt produced young men who followed in his footsteps and the Turkish youth was equally inspired by him. After the death of the Syed, Iqbal directed his energy towards the awakening of Islam and his services to this end are commendable.

Islam without a State is a very vague term, because in the absence of that fundamental sanction, the social system is like a machine without any source of energy. In India, Muslim power had declined with the fall of the Moghul Empire, and Muslims were, for the first time, without a State. Islam as a socio-religious system ceased to function as a whole with the loss of its State, and the end of the Muslim State created a violent upheaval in all domains of social activities. The problems of religion and culture became very grave and intricate. This was a period of self-consciousness (as Islam is a part of a Muslim's self) and the economic difficulties along with the loss of liberty were naturally responsible for much confusion of thought. These tragic circumstances gave birth to a literature of a socio-political kind. Revival of the past could only be the proper object of a poet. Men sat down to think, and questions of religion and past glory found favour with the poets. The impulse was accompanied by a renaissance, which came with modern thought with all its force. Hali and Akbar made valuable contributions to Urdu literature, but

it was Iqbal who was destined to guide the nation through more hazardous circumstance when darkness prevailed all round.

Iqbal as a young man awakened the nation by his Islamic poems and soon presented a valuable work in philosophical verse. *Asrar-o-Rumuz* came as a message of a revolutionary change in Muslim society. In those days the Islamic character had deteriorated and religion had ceased to inspire. The message of Iqbal was a new source of moral support.

With the influx of modern civilisation and thought, new problems sprang up. The new generation was getting away from religion and Eastern civilisation was at a discount. Iqbal, who was well-versed in Islamic thought and who had been educated on Western principles, proved himself a reliable leader for the guidance of Muslims, and Muslim society owes a great debt to him for the present awakening of Islam.

While the poet was in England, he was a member of the Pan-Islamic Society and his concern with the international aspect of the problems of Islam was great. The poet's lectures on Islamic subjects and his interviews with responsible leaders of thought in England and Germany showed the earliest signs of his interest in the international affairs of Islam.

On his return from England, when he had just

entered the legal profession, the Tripoli and Balkan wars entangled the Turks in a bloody conflict. The eyes of the Western powers were fixed on the dissolution of the Turkish Empire which seemed to be breaking up through the separatist tendencies of the Arabs, who were mainly inspired by international diplomacy. The grief and the anxiety of Indian Muslims, in sympathy with the Turks, were natural. The Lahore Muslims gathered in the Shahi Mosque on October 6, 1911, and Iqbal read his famous poem, *Khun-i-Shuhada ki Nazr* at an historic meeting. The poem impressed the audience and moved them to tears. It was a time when there was a general feeling among Muslims that Islamic countries were facing a common danger. The sensitive heart of Iqbal felt and realised the magnitude of the calamity.

The following verses addressed to the Holy Prophet speak of the poet's zealous heart.

حضور دہر میں اسودگی نہیں ملتی
تلاش جس کی ہے وہ زندگی نہیں ملتی
ہزاروں لالہ و گل ہیں ریاض ہستی میں
وفا کی جس میں ہو بو وہ کلی نہیں ملتی
مگر میں نذر کو اک آبگینہ لایا ہوں
جو چیز اس میں ہے جنت میں بھی نہیں ملتی
جھلکتی ہے تری امت کی آبرو اس میں
طرابلس کے شہیدوں کا ہے لہو اس میں

Sire ! there is no peace in this world,
The life which is sought is not found.
There are thousands of tulips and roses in the garden of Existence,
But the bud containing the fragrance of faith is not found.
However, I have brought a chalice as an offering,
The thing which it contains is not found in Paradise.
The honour of thy people sparkles in it,
There is the blood of the martyrs of Tripoli in it !

The glorious past of Islam inspired the poet and he looked upon the present with great concern. Referring to the passing caravan of nations, he sings:

آہ مسلم بھی زمانے سے یونہی رخصت ھوا
آسماں سے ابر آذاری اٹھا، برسا، گیا

Ah ! the Muslim passed away from the world in the same way,
The cloud of the first month of spring rose from the sky, rained and passed away

Nationalism as a political conception was looked upon as an 'idol' by the poet:

ان تازہ خداؤں میں بڑا سب سے وطن ھے
جو پیرھن اس کا ھے وہ مذھب کا کفن ھے

Among these fresh gods, 'Native Land' is the greatest of all,
Its attire is the shroud of religion

Islam treats humanity as a whole and condemns the cult of nationalism aiming at the breaking up of human society into separate units. As nationalism means disintegration for the Muslim world, the unity of the Muslim countries would be as

difficult as is the case in Europe. The poet warned Muslims against the consequences of nationalism and his teachings diverted the people's attention to a wider conception of world citizenship. The poet sang:

چین و عرب ھمارا ھند و ستاں ھمارا
مسلم ھیں ھم وطن ھے سارا جہاں ھمارا

China and Arabia are ours, India is ours,
We are Muslims and our native land is the whole world.

Shikwah and *Jawab-i-Shikwah*, the two popular poems, were written to inspire and reform society. The role played by the poet as a reformer had its desired effect and his voice resounded in all the streets and lanes in Muslim cities:

اے خدا شکوۂ ارباب وفا بھی سن لے
خوگر حمد سے تھوڑا سا گلہ بھی سن لے

O God! listen to the lamentation of the faithful too,
Listen also to a small complaint from one, addicted to praise!

ھم تو جیتے ھیں کہ دنیا میں ترا نام رھے
کہیں ممکن ھے کہ ساقی نہ رھے جام رھے

We live so that Thy name may reamain in the world,
Is it possible that there be a cup and no Saki?

The message of Iqbal has a special significance for young men who have lost the virtues of their forefathers and possess none of the good qualities of the dominating races of to-day. They have forgotten all about Islam and the golden history of the past:

کبھی اے نوجواں مسلم! تدبّر بھی کیا تونے؟
وہ کیا گردوں تھا، تو جس کا ہے اک ٹوٹا ہوا تارا

Hast thou ever thought, O young Muslim!
What universe was it of which thou art a meteor?

گنوا دی ہم نے جو اسلاف سے میراث پائی تھی
ثریا سے زمیں پر آسماں نے ہم کو دے مارا

We have lost the heritage that we received from our ancestors,
The sky threw us to the earth from the Pleiades

Hejaz was the poet's spiritual home and he wanted Islamic culture to be revived as it once had found full expression in 'the cradle of Islam.' Foreign influence, according to him, distorted the original conception of Islam. The poet raised the cry "Back to Arbia!" in the sense of giving new life to Islam by reviving the original spirit:

ٹوٹنے کو ہے طلسم ماہ سیمایان ہند
پھر سلیمیٰ کی نظر دیتی ہے پیغام خروش

The talisman of the beauties of India is about to break,
The sight of Suleima again gives the message of activity

The poet's abiding interest in Muslim politics is best shown in his well-known poem *Khizr-i-Rah.* At a time when the old attire of Asia was being torn to pieces and young men were blindly imitating the manners and dress of the newly-risen Powers—while Hashimi was selling away the prestige of Mustafa's religion and the painstaking Turkoman was 'mixing in dust and blood', Iqbal noticed all this and he was one of the few who

who were keeping their eyes on the Muslim world:

" ملک هاتھوں سے گیا ملت کی آنکھیں کھل گئیں "
حق ترا چشمے عطا کرد است غافل در نگر!

"The country passed out of its hands and the nation's eyes were opened,"
God has given thee eyes, O heedless! (try to) see!

The poet looks forward with hope:

دلیل صبح روشن هے ستاروں کی تنک تابی
افق سے آفتاب ابھرا' گیا دور گراں خوابی!

The dimness of the stars is the sign of the bright morning,
The sun rose above the horizon and the time for heavy sleep is gone!

Not only ordinary Muslims, he also wanted the kings of Islam to maintain the golden traditions. In his *Piam*, he addresses the ex-King Amanullah Khan:

در قبائے خسروی درویش زی   دیده بیدار و خدا اندیش زی

In thy kingly robes, live like a Dervish!
Live with thy eyes awake and God-fearing!

هر که عشق مصطفیٰ سامان اوست   بحر و بر در گوشهٔ دامان اوست

Whosoever has the love of Mustafa as his treasure,
The sea and land are in the folds of his skirt.

The poet prompted the nation to action, emphasising the truth that the reality of life is to face danger, always pointing to the mode of an eagle's life:

ز دست کسے طعمهٔ خود مگیر   نکو باش پند نکوباں پذیر

Take not thy food from another's hand,
Be good and accept the advice of the good.

The most important feature of his teachings is that, besides awakening the people to the change passing over the world, he gave them a new inspiration, based on the protection of the Self, and laid emphasis on the great necessity of desire and the guiding force of love. The effects of such teachings were healthy, that is to say, he awakened the heart of the Muslim world:

دل بیدار پیدا کر کہ دل خوابیدہ ھے جب تک
نہ تیری ضرب ھے کاری، نہ میری ضرب ھے کاری

Produce a wakeful heart, for as long as the heart is asleep,
Neither thy blow is effective, nor mine!

The great value of *Faqr* along with high-mindedness is another peculiarity of his teachings which led the people to great moral heights.

دارا و سکندر سے وہ مرد فقیر اولیٰ
ھو جس کی فقیری میں بوئے اسداللہی!

That Faqir is far superior to Darius and Alexander
Whose life possesses the fragrant virtues of Ali

The poetry of Iqbal is mainly philosophical and the questions relating to religion, race and civilization, government, progress of women, literature and arts, and world politics, were of equal interest to the poet. He always concentrated his attention on human destiny and for his particular interest in Islam, he rightly deserved to be called the 'Awakener of Islam.' He was in the words of Carlyle a 'hero as a poet'. The glory of Greece has survived through the

works of Homer, while Firdausi gave an imperishable touch to the golden deeds of the Persian heroes. Iqbal awakened the Muslim world to the strife of the day and in many respects resembles Dante and Goethe whose works gave new life to their countries, and if it is true that the writings of Rousseau and Voltaire presaged a new era in France, and the works of Nietzsche, Marx and Tolstoy ushered in a new period in their native lands—the poetry of Iqbal is working to bring about a radical change in Muslim society ·

معمار حرم باز به تعمیر جهاں خیز
از خواب گراں، خواب گراں، خواب گراں خیز

XII

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF RELIGOUS THOUGHT IN ISLAM

IN modern times, when a wave of renaissance is passing all over the Muslim world and Western materialism is influencing the Eastern mind, it is very essential to keep pace with modern inventions and discoveries and in order to guard Islam as a living force it is far more essential to bring our religious thought up-to-date, as the basis of our civilisation and culture is religion.

Through various causes, the process of growth in the Islamic system of thought was brought to a standstill, during the last five centuries. The importation of Greek philosophy into Islamic thought had its advantages and disadvantages. It was useful in so far as, religion has to be understood in the light of reason. It was harmful inasmuch as Greek philosophy hardly recognised the value of inner experience—the very basis of religion. However, the efforts of the philosophers of Islam were praiseworthy to the extent that they realised the importance of rationalism in religion, but they assimilated much of Grecian colour which was not wanted and, moreover, the Koran did not warrant

that. The contributions of some of the realistic schools of Sufis have been of great value, but the latter-day pseudo-mystic thinkers only added to the confusion of Islamic thought.

One of the fundamental causes, on account of which Islam has ceased to be a living force, is the lack of growth in its system of thought. In the contemporary world, when there is a general clamour for scientific reasoning and standards of life, with a growing tendency towards materialism, Iqbal's *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* carries a great value. Such a work involves a vast study of the Koran as well as modern thought. It is undoubtedly a laudable attempt to reconstruct Islamic thought with due regard to past traditions, in a progressive world order.

The book comprises seven lectures of the philosopher which were undertaken at the request of the Madras Muslim Association and delivered at Madras, Hyderabad and Aligarh. "I have tried," writes Iqbal in a short preface to this work "to meet. even though, partially this urgent demand by attempting to reconstruct Muslim religious philosophy with due regard to the philosophical tradition of Islam and the more recent development in the various domains of human knowledge. And the present movement is quite favourable for such an undertaking.

It must, however, bere membered that there is

no such thing as finality in philosophical thinking. As knowledge advances and fresh avenues of thought are opened, other views, and probably sounder views than those set forth in these lectures, are possible. Our duty is carefully to watch the progress of human thought, and to maintain an independent critical attitude towards it."

Inner experience is the basis of religion which finds so much space in Iqbal's lectures, but religion does not condemn reason. It may be impossible to grasp the reality of religion through philosophy as a whole, but philosophy has its value in so far as it helps us to understand the meaning of religion. Sense-perception and the inner experience both reinforce each other, although the sphere of the one is different from the other. As science confines its knowledge to matter, religion depends on inner experience and its value as a source of knowledge is as sound as that of sense-perception for practical purposes, and this is the basis of all religious thought.

The study of *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* is the scanning of the philosopher's intellectual horizon as well as the working of the modern mind of Islam which is destined to give a lead to a Universal movement. A silver lining has already appeared in the dark clouds and the learned lectures of Iqbal point to the infinite possibilities of Islamic renaissance. Philosophic

thought is a constant endeavour to retain knowledge, just as when one has reached the top of a hill, he has to struggle to maintain a footing. Philosophy is not perfect knowledge; it is always on the path of search for truth, because the source of its knowledge being sense-perception, it is always behind intuition, which is something inner and akin to reality. The two kinds of knowledge always try to harmonise with each other. A philosopher only tries to visualise the inner experience through the spectacles of reason. Thus philosophical knowledge is dignified inasmuch as it is a part of the whole, and an effort towards the harmony of religious and philosophical knowledge is noble indeed.

Iqbal has discussed in these lectures the basic ideas of Islam in the language of modern philosophy, and the reason for such a philosophical exposition of his thought, is the tendency of the modern mind to rely upon external sense and a corresponding inability to appreciate the value of inner experience. The lectures primarily bring home to the modern mind the reality of inner perception which gives us a clue to the solution of all puzzles about religion, God and the human ego. Iqbal refers to his lectures in *Javid Nama*.

من بطبع عصر خود گفتم دو حرف　　کرده ام بحرین را اندر دو ظرف
حرف پیچا پیچ و حرف نیش دار　　تا کنم عقل و دل مردان شکار
حرف ته داری بانداز فرنگ　　نالهٔ مستانهٔ از تار چنگ
تا مزاج عصر من دیگر فتاد
طبع من هنگامهٔ دیگر نهاد

I said two ' words ' according to the nature of my age,
I have enclosed the two seas in two vessels.
A folded word, and a word with a sting,
So that I may hunt the heart and reason of the people.
A deep word after the style of Europe :
A passionate cry from the chord of a harp
As the nature of my age happened to be different,
My nature laid the foundation of a different tumult.

As religion and its possibility is the foremost question that agitates the modern mind, it is only natural that the first lecture of Iqbal is entitled— *Knowledge and Religious Experience.* Referring to the fundamental questions common to religion, philosophy and higher poetry, the philosopher explains the differences of knowledge from various sources. The poetic inspiration is individual in its character and the stability of its value may not be relied upon in various cases. Religious knowledge is more advanced as it relates to society and points to the direct vision of reality. Philosophy undertakes free enquiry into the nature of things, being guided by pure reason and with its ostensible capacity it may, or may not, reach the fundamental truth. Religion, on the contrary, is based on faith—a surer guide to the ultimate reality. The existence of a mystic school of thought, all through the ages which has played a very important part in the history of religion, lends support to the meaning and vital importance of the 'faith element' in religion.

Science may not recognize metaphysics, but religion has to take note of all partial experiences of life and must harmonise with them in whatever domain. To rationalise faith is not to submit it to the verdict of philosophy; it is rather an admission of the fact that philosophy may judge religious values. Thought and intuition are not hostile to each other. Such a thing would never happen, because the system must work as a whole. "They spring up from the same root and complement each other . . . . In fact intuition, as Bergson rightly says, is only a higher kind of intellect." The religious thought of Islam has a rational basis which can be traced back to the Prophet's prayer: "God grant me knowledge of the ultimate nature of things." The inclination of Muslim thinkers towards Greek philosophy had nothing inherently wrong about it, but it confused the original meaning of the Koran. Socrates confined his attention to the world of man alone and Plato despised sense-perception as it was not the source of real knowledge, while the Koran regards 'hearing' and 'sight' as of infinite value. Thus following the Greek philosophy, the Muslims turned aside from the right way for a long time, until Ghazali based religion on philosophic doubt (which is not vouchsafed by the Koran). The Ash'arite thinkers tried to defend religious beliefs with the help of Greek dialectic and the Mu'tazila looked upon religion as a body of doctrines and did not realise

its value as vital fact. "They failed to see that in the domain of knowledge—scientific or religious—complete independence of thought from concrete experience is not possible."

Ghazali was as distinguished a thinker in the East as Kant in Germany, who realised the shallowness of rationalism to approach reality, for which purpose, he relied upon mysticism, but he wrongly concluded that thought and intuition were two different things. Thus, it was recognised by the Muslim thinkers long ago, that religion has an independent sphere of inner experience, but owing to one reason or another, the development of Islamic thought was retarded. As growth is the very life of a system, the necessity of examining in an independent spirit what Europe has thought, can well be gauged in the philosopher's own words: "During the last five hundred years religious thought in Islam has been practically stationary. There was a time when European thought received inspiration from the world of Islam. The most remarkable phenomenon of modern history, however, is the enormous rapidity with which the world of Islam is spiritually moving towards the West. There is nothing wrong in this movement, for European culture on its intellectual side, is only a further development of some of the most important phases of the culture of Islam. Our only fear is that the dazzling exterior of European culture may arrest

our movement and we may fail to reach the true inwardness of that culture. During all the centuries of our intellectual stupor, Europe has been seriously thinking on the great problems in which the philosophers and scientists of Islam were so keenly interested . . . . New points of view have been suggested, old problems have been restated in the light of fresh experience and new problems have arisen. It seems as if the intellect of man is outgrowing its own fundamental categories—time, space and causality. With the advance of scientific thought even our concept of intelligiblity has undergone a change. The theory of Einstein has brought a new vision of the Universe and suggests new ways of looking at the problems, common to both religion and philosophy. No wonder then that the younger generation of Islam in Asia and Africa demand a fresh orientation of their faith. With the awakening of Islam, therefore, it is necessary to examine, in an independent spirit, what Europe has thought and how far the conclusions reached by her can help us in revision and, if necessary, reconstruction, of theological thought in Islam."

The Koran aims at the awakening of man to his multifarious relations with God and the expression of the human spirit depends on a harmony between the external and internal forces. Islam has recognized the contact of the ideal with the real and thus, emphasises the conquest of nature to

regulate the life of man on this Earth. As the Koran says:

'He (God) adds to his creation what He wills' (35:1).

Iqbal concludes: "It is not a universe, a finished product, immobile and incapable of change. Deep in its inner being lies, perhaps, the dream of a new birth." The great struggle in which man is engaged proves his superiority to nature and his conquest points to the great 'Trust' that he carries with him. "His career, no doubt, has a beginning, but he is destined, perhaps, to become a permanent element in the constitution of being—for man as conceived by the Koran is a creative activity."

The life of man depends upon his effort to express his inner Self, otherwise the spark that grasps the reality would slowly die out. It is through knowledge that a link can be established with reality, and knowledge is sense-perception elaborated by understanding.

The emphasis laid by the Koran on the close study of the processes of nature gave birth to the spirit of research and engendered a sense of practical values leading to the foundation of modern science. The Koran also draws attention to 'change' which it says, is at the root of a progressive civilisation. The knowledge through sense-perception, which is so useful in the conquest of nature, should be supplemented by the perception of—" what the Koran des-

cribes as *Fuad*, or *Qalb*, *i.e.*, heart—for the progressive movement of spiritual life. The value of knowledge through the heart is independent and reliable. "The revealed and mystic literature of mankind bears ample testimony to the fact that religious experience has been too enduring and dominant in the history of mankind to be rejected as mere illusion." The knowledge that we get through sense-perception is not all knowledge. If it be so, the reality of our self would be very vague. The immediacy of our experience in the mystic state has some resemblance to our normal experience and has a peculiar value and cannot be wholly discarded, merely because it cannot be traced back to sense-perception. "Religious experience is essentially a state of feeling with a cognitive aspect, the contents of which cannot be communicated to others, except in the form of a judgment." The validity of such a judgment can be examined by two kinds of tests which Iqbal calls —intellectual and pragmatic.

The philosophical Test of the Revelations of Religious Experience is the subject of the second lecture. The three arguments—cosmological, the teleological, and the ontological (according to Iqbal) are a real movement of thought in its quest after the absolute, but as logical proofs, they are open to serious criticism. The cosmological argument regards the world as a finite effect. Passing back through a series of causes and effects, it presupposes a begin-

ning—'an uncaused first cause'. But as the first cause should be the effect of some other cause, in an endless series the cause and effect must continue. "*Logically speaking then*, the movement from the finite to the infinite as embodied in the cosmological argument is quite illegitimate .... The teleological argument scrutinizes the effect with a view to discover the character of its cause. From the traces of foresight, purpose, adaptation in nature, it infers the existence of a self-conscious being of infinite intelligence and power . . The argument gives us a contriver and not a creator." As to the ontological argument which infers from an attribute the existence of God, it is clear that "the conception of existence is no proof of objective existence.. . . The reason of the failure of these arguments is that they look upon 'thought' as an agency working on things from without ..... To my mind nothing is more alien to the Koranic outlook than the idea that the Universe is the temporal working of a preconceived plan As I have already pointed out, the Universe, according to the Koran, is liable to increase. It is a growing Universe and not an already completed product which left the hand of its maker ages ago, and is now lying stretched in space as a dead mass of matter to which time does nothing and consequently is nothing.... .. A critical interpretation of the sequence of time, as revealed in ourselves, has led us to a notion of the

ultimate reality as pure duration in which thought, life, and purpose inter-penetrate to form an organic unity. We cannot conceive this unity except as the unity of a self—an all-embracing concrete self—the ultimate source of all individual life and thought ...... To exist in pure duration is to be a self, and to be a self is to be able to say 'I am' ... The ultimate self, in the words of the Koran, can afford to dispense with all the worlds ..

The ultimate reality is a rationally directed creative life . and the facts of experience justify the inference that the ultimate nature of Reality is spiritual."

In his third lecture, *The Conception of God and the Meaning of Prayer*, Iqbal starts with 'a rationally directed creative will' which may be described as an ego, which leads to the ultimate Ego—" is, therefore, neither infinite in the sense of spatial infinity nor finite in the sense of the space-bound human ego whose body closes him off, in reference to other egos. The infinity of the ultimate Ego consists in the infinite inner possibilities of His creative activity of which the Universe, as known to us, is only a partial expression. In one word, God's infinity is intensive, not extensive It involves an infinite series, but is not that series . I have conceived the Ultimate Reality as an Ego, and I must add now that from the ultimate Ego only egos proceed."

Iqbal held prayer as a means of closer com-

munion, its origin being instinctive. In thought the position of mind is that of an observer, while praying, it gives up the business of seeking and 'captures Reality itself with a view to become a conscious participator in its life.'

In his fourth lecture, *The Human Ego, His Freedom and Immortality*, Iqbal describes the individuality and uniqueness of man as supported by the Koran, making it impossible for one individual to bear the burden of another and this suggests the destiny of man as a unit of life. The unity of inner experience is one of the three sources of knowledge according to the Koran. Unfortunately the value of such an experience was seldom investigated except by devotional Sufism. This experience found full expression in the famous phrase of Hallaj—'I am the creative truth' The expression did not mean or the experience could hardly be the result of merging into a bigger whole or as Iqbal puts it: "The true interpretation of his experience, therefore is not the drop slipping into the sea, but the realisation and bold affirmation in an undying phrase of the reality and permanence of the human ego in a profounder personality . . and the inner experience is nothing but the ego at work and we appreciate the ego itself in the act of perceiving, judging, and willing."

The Koran describes the soul as proceeding from the Lord's 'Amr' (command) and is equivalent

to 'direction'—"That is, the essential nature of the soul is directive as it proceeds from the directive energy of God........Thus the element of guidance and directive control in the ego's activity clearly shows that the ego is a free personal causality."

In the light of the Koran it is open to man to attain for himself immortality, but it is only possible as an ever-growing ego. Such a personal immortality is not a matter of right It is through personal struggle that he can attain it. "Man is only a candidate for it."

The Spirit of Muslim Culture is the fifth lecture of Iqbal. It primarily draws attention to the great idea in Islam—the finality of the institution of prophethood. "A Prophet," writes Iqbal, "may be defined as a type of mystic consciousness in which 'unitary experience' tends to overflow its boundaries and seeks opportunities of redirecting or refashioning the forces of collective life. In his personality the finite centre of life sinks into his own infinite depth only to spring up again, with fresh vigour, to destroy the old and to disclose the new directions of life. .. " He further regards prophetic consciousness as a mode of economizing individual thought and choice by providing ready-made judgments, choices and ways of action. The prophet of Islam seems to stand between the ancient and the modern world. The birth of Islam was synonymous with the birth of inductive

intellect. Prophecy reached its highest perfection in Islam—the institution could now be abolished. Otherwise, the lack of permanent character in the 'system' would demolish the edifice by itself. In order to give a continuous support in the achievement of full self-consciousness, man was thrown back on his own resources—The constant appeal to reason and experience in the Koran and the emphasis it lays on Nature and History as sources of knowledge, all point to the finality of prophethood. "The intellectual value of the idea is that it creates an independent critical attitude towards mystic experience by generating the belief that all personal authority, claiming a supernatural origin had come to an end in the history of man."

As it is self-evident from the teachings of the Koran, the Universe is dynamic in its origin, finite and capable of increase. The idea created a conflict between Muslim thinkers and Greek thought, which neglected reality as it stands. There came a time when this defect in Greek thought was realised and criticism in all departments of knowledge led to new discoveries. It was the awakening of the spirit of Islam that formed the taste of the Muslims who laid the foundations of modern science. "The first important point to note about the spirit of Muslim culture then is that for purposes of knowledge, it fixes its gaze on the concrete, the finite. ... It is the intellectual capture of power over the concrete that

makes it possible for the intellect of man to pass beyond the concrete."

In his sixth lecture, Iqbal discusses—*The Principle of Movement in Islam.* As has already been referred to, Islam is not in sympathy with the old static view of the Universe. All lines of Islamic thought converge into the dynamic view, "The ultimate spiritual basis of life, according to Islam is eternal and reveals itself in variety and change.... So a society, based on such a conception of Reality must reconcile in its life, the categories of permanence and change.... What then is the principle of movement in the structure of Islam? This is known as *Ijtihad.*" Among the various causes that led to the decline of Islam, lack of *Ijtihad* in Islamic society had a foreboding effect. There have been some great reformers like Ibn-i-Taimiyya and Shah Wali-Ullah who realized the necessity of *Ijtihad,* but it has never been taken as a matter of serious concern.

Is Religion Possible?—is the last lecture of Iqbal and the possibility argued by him has a special value in modern times, as religion is rapidly losing hold upon the present generation. Religion, in the eyes of Iqbal, which is essentially a mode of actual living, is the only serious way that leads to Reality. "The truth is that the religious and the scientific processes, though involving different methods, are identical in their final aim. Both aim at reaching

the most real. In fact, religion, for reasons which I have mentioned before, is far more anxious to reach the ultimate 'Real' than science. And to both, the way to pure objectivity lies through what may be called the purification of experience."

XIII

IQBAL AND MODERN CIVILISATION

"A MODERN idea, and therefore a false idea," is the inference which Nietzsche drew about progress. What is the value of the word 'modern', then? Ordinarily, the word 'modern' suggests a divergence from the old path, so naturally it does not appeal to a conservative mind and has a peculiar fascination for the progressive section of mankind. The judgment of a philosopher is not that of a common person. In the twentieth century, Iqbal is one of the reputed authorities on questions of race and civilisation, and as a thinker of great insight his views are of particular importance.

The attitude of Iqbal towards modern civilisation (Western, as it may be called) is that of a critic, whose criticism is certainly constructive. He does not hate Western civilisation, merely because it is modern but approaches it through human experience of centuries and the test, he applies to it is the expression of the human Self and the stability of cultural edifice in reference to Reality, that governs through change and permanence. His view on life is dynamic and regards the conquest of nature as inevitable for the development of the

human ego, but the conquest of nature is only a means to an end. The extreme type of materialism, which has driven man to attach far greater importance to matter than is necessary is not a happy sign of human progress. Material civilisation, as it has won the name, has confused the meaning of ultimate reality. The materialists consider man a machine—a view which is responsible for the lack of the spiritual element in modern civilisation. According to Iqbal, the ultimate reality is spiritual, and the activities and inclinations of the modern mind point to the danger ahead. The wholesale disregard for spirit has a disastrous effect on man, as Iqbal says.

"Thus wholly overshadowed by the results of his intellectual activity, the modern man has ceased to live soulfully, *i.e.*, from within." So the fundamental objection of Iqbal against the modern civilisation is the materialistic view on life, otherwise he does not depreciate the intellectual progress of Europe, as he regards it as the natural process of evolution, which had passed from the hands of Muslim scientists to the European scholars.

The principles of dubious value that are governing Western society and which gave birth to modern civilisation and culture are the basis of all criticism that Iqbal has levelled against them. Iqbal was a devout believer in religion. Not only this; his philosophy and teachings have a direct

reference to religion which is defined by the poet as a mode of living. Inner experience, which is the basis of religion, yields a kind of knowledge which may be tested and has almost a scientific value, but is denied by the scientific thinkers of the West, who are responsible for the mentality of modern society. As a result, religion has been totally ignored to-day. Iqbal, on the contrary, regards religion as a potential force, essential to make society a functioning whole.

During the medieval ages, the people in Europe won their individual liberty through a great struggle. All their movements were directed towards the attainment of liberty, but industrialisation on a gigantic scale was responsible for the rise of the capitalist, who proved a menace to the stability of society. The individual has almost become a tool in the hands of great capitalists who are in a position to influence governments. The individual is being crushed out of existence in an over-mechanised society and the objection of Iqbal against such a state of affairs is not unjustifiable, as he believes in the preservation of the Self—consequently, individual liberty. There is nothing bad in independence, but it is suicidal when man or woman uses it as something detrimental to the cause of human progress, because it is co-operation by which humanity creates a proper atmosphere for the development of the Self The growing demand of women in the West for equality with man is something

unnatural in the eyes of Iqbal. He explains that man and woman have different rights and duties and one should not encroach upon those of the other. Social independence in the West has had grave consequences, the most disastrous being the disruption of the family system which is the unit of human society and on which rests its stability. The principles of freedom, equality and brotherhood that were recognized through the experience of the French Revolution have been given a different meaning to-day. Aggressive nationalism, which is disturbing the equilibrium of European society, is purely a modern conception, directly based on the non-recognition of human brotherhood, hence the universal chaos to-day. Such and many other kinds of political and economic notions of to-day have not found favour with Iqbal and the gravity of his views has been appreciated in the West.

Some of the great thinkers of the West have also expressed doubts as regards the stability of the structure of European society. It is being recognised that the absence of the spiritual element in the present-day society is to the greatest extent responsible for the grave problems that are arising day by day. Religion may be described as the centralising force which creates harmony in human activities.

The ever-increasing control of nature and a corresponding lack of control on the part of man keeps society in perpetual restlessness and the diag-

nosis of Iqbal is perhaps correct: "The modern world stands in need of biological renewal. And religion, which in its higher manifestation is neither dogma, nor priesthood, nor ritual, can alone ethically prepare the modern man for the burden of the great responsibility, which the advancement of modern science necessarily involves, and restore to him that attitude of faith which makes him capable of winning a personality here and retaining it hereafter. It is only by rising to a fresh vision of his origin and future, his whence and whither, that man will eventually triumph over a society, motivated by an inhuman conception, and a civilisation which has lost its spiritual unity by its inner conflict of religious and political views."—

شعلہ افرنگیاں نم خوردہ ایست
چشم شاں صاحب نظر دل مردہ است!

The flame of the Europeans is 'damp'—
Their eye can see, but the heart is dead!

تہی وحدت سے ہے اندیشۂ غرب   کہ تہذیب فرنگی بے حرم ہے

Western thought lacks unity,
For, the European civlisation has no Haram.

A very instructive letter that Iqbal wrote to his son, Javid, from London, included in *Bal-i-Jibril*, throws light on the poet's attitude towards Western civilisation:

اٹھا نہ شیشہ گران فرنگ کے احساں
سفال ھند سے مینا و جام پیدا کر

Don't be under an obligation to the glass manufacturers of Europe,
Make a cup and pitcher out of Indian clay.

Free-thinking is a peculiarity of modern society. Whatever its value, the criticism of Iqbal has a moral ground :

گو فکر خدا داد سے روشن ھے زمانہ
آزادئ افکار ھے ابلیس کی ایجاد

Although the world is illumined by the God-gifted thought,
Free thinking is the invention of Satan.

ترا وجود سراپا تجلّیِ افرنگ
کہ تو وھاں کے عمارت گروں کی ھے تعمیر!
مگر یہ پیکر خاکی خودی سے ھے خالی
فقط نیام ھے تو زرنگار و بے شمشیر!

Thy existence is from tip to toe the glory of Europe,
As thy edifice has been erected by the masons of that land,
But, this form of dust is without Self,
Thou art only a scabbard—golden, but without a sword.

The absence of the religious element in Western politics has given licence to some European statesmen and politicians. Iqbal has very severely criticised such irreligious politics :—

جو بات حق ھو وہ مجھ سے چھپی نہیں رھتی
خدا نے مجھکو دیا ھے دل خبیر و بصیر
مری نگاہ میں ھے یہ سیاست لادیں
کنیز اھرمن و دوں نہاد و مردہ ضمیر

All that is true remains not hidden from me,
God has given me a knowing and seeing heart,
In my eyes this irreligious politics is—
The hand-maid of Satan, of low nature, with a dead heart.

Under the heading—*The Net of Civilisation*,

Iqbal writes :—

اقبال کو شک اس کی شرافت میں نہیں ہے
ہر ملت مظلوم کا یورپ ہے خریدار!

Iqbal does not doubt its nobility,
Europe is the *buyer* of every oppressed nation.

Such is Iqbal's criticism of Western civilisation, but he does not agree with Nietzsche—"because modern, therefore false." Iqbal was educated on Western principles. He had the opportunity to go as a student to Cambridge and London and thus had a very intimate knowledge of Western society. His criticism cannot be regarded as superficial, and it was not a wholesale condemnation of the West, as he greatly appreciated the intellectual progress of the European people. His critical attitude towards the West is an indirect service to his own people.

XIV

CONTEMPORARY WOMAN & MODERNISM

"WOMAN is the root of all evil," is a familiar proverb, which, with the spread of classical civilisation, travelled all over Europe as a quaint truth and has been even quoted in our own days. The position of woman under the Roman law was very unenviable as she was hardly regarded as anything better than a chattel and carried with her the idea of being the property of somebody. With such a low status in society in an atmosphere of ignorance, the people even doubted whether a woman possessed a soul at all, and in order to decide the issue, a conference was called forth in Europe in the year 586 A.D. Such was the angle of vision of the forefathers of modern Europe. The position of a Hindu woman may well be described in the words of Manu: "Day and night must women be held by their protectors in a state of dependence."

The position of woman in Islam is recognized on natural principles. She is as important and dignified as man and has her rights as clearly defined as those of man. The Koran says: "And they (women) have rights similar to those (of men) over

them in kindness, and men are a degree above them."—(ii: 228). And the benefits of the mutual company are best illustrated in the verse: "They are raiment for you and ye are raiment for them"—(ii: 187).

From an economic point of view, Islam recognizes the right of a woman to inherit and is entitled to exclusive *Mahr* from the husband and can own property independently. Besides, marriage, according to Islam, is a social contract and the parties can appear before the *Kazi*, for its dissolution. Such is the position that woman occupies in Islam.

An undue regard for naturalism has let loose the modern mind to make experiments in social matters from a purely natural point of view, totally forgetting the fundamental differences between the blind working of nature and the conscious movement of humanity. Consequently the conception of modern life in Europe is undergoing rapid changes and, having lost the centralising force, modern society is trying to stabilise itself with a perpetual adjustment of free thought and experience, but the exuberance of material facilities and independence in life is taking the Western people through an abnormal experience of life. The magic of Western life has already begun to work in the East. The inclination of the contemporary woman towards modernism and its effect on the structure of modern society has been subjected to a great deal of criticism,

both in the East and in the West. The views of Iqbal, in this connection, as a spokesman of the East, deserve careful attention.

The present liberty of woman in the West appears to be a result of a reaction against the degrading low status which she was forced to accept in the dark ages. Owing to the disturbance of social equilibrium, a change was bound to appear in European society. A change in the extreme sense may not be wholly free from a destructive element. It is like a powerful medicine which with all its uses may yet kill the patient. One of the remarkable changes in modern society is the demand of status on the part of woman, equal to that of man. Natural philosophy and material conquest are obviously at the root of such a demand. However, in her zeal for freedom, she seems to be overstepping the bounds of her natural rights and the visible signs of hatred of woman towards man and motherhood, are fraught with grave dangers. Iqbal as a Muslim philosopher is the exponent of the Islamic point of view in regard to women. The so-called independence and the natural rights of equality, which the modern woman holds so dear, are a real danger to the stability of modern society, in the eyes of Iqbal. Notwithstanding the great Feminist movements, the position of the modern woman is hardly secure. The pretentious idea of chivalry is losing its charm day by day, as Iqbal once said that there

was gradually appearing in English society a change in the attitude of men towards women, and quite contrary to what he had noticed in the past, males did not stand up in her presence; they would not even move to make room for her.

The poet describes the modern girl in *Javid Nama*—One Farzmurz stole a girl from Europe and took her to the planet Mars in order to incite the women there to copy her mode of life. She is seen in an open *maidan*, lecturing at a public meeting, where men and women have gathered. Her face is bright, but she has not the light of the soul in her body. Her words are unimpressive, eyes dry, that is to say, she is totally devoid of desire and love. Her breast lacks passion and her 'mirror is blind.' She is after fashion and freedom and is little acquainted with love—she avoids the society of man and abhors matrimonial alliance. Mark her speech:

اے زناں ! اے مادراں ! اے خواہراں !
زیستن تا کے مثال دلبراں !

دلبری اندر جہاں مظلومی است
دلبری محکومی و محرومی است

در دو گیسو شانہ گردانیم ما
مرد را نخچیر خود دانیم ما

مرد صیادی بہ نخچیری کند
گرد تو گردد کہ زنجیری کند !

ہمبر او بودن آزار حیات
وصل او زہر و فراق او نبات

از امومت زرد روئے مادراں!
اے خنک آزادیٔ بے شوہراں!

O women! mothers and sisters!
How long to live like sweethearts?
To be a sweetheart is to undergo tyranny,
It is subjection and destitution.
We comb our two locks—
We know man as our victim.
Man hunts by falling a victim,
He goes round thee to chain thee,
To be his companion is a curse for life,
His meeting is poison and his separation is sugar,
The mothers' face is pale, owing to motherhood!
How pleasant is the freedom of those who have no husbands!

Such a mentality of the modern girl is really dangerous and the infection of such ideas in the East shall certainly revolutionise the Eastern society. The modern educational institutions being the chief places where such infection takes place, Iqbal views female education with doubt:

لڑکیاں پڑھ رہی ہیں انگریزی
ڈھونڈھ لی قوم نے فلاح کی راہ
روش مغربی ہے مد نظر
وضع مشرق کو جانتے ہیں گناہ
یہ ڈراما دکھائیگا کیا سین؟
پردہ اٹھنے کی منتظر ہے نگاہ

Girls are being taught English,
The nation has found the way of salvation.
The Western way (the mode of life) is in view,
Eastern etiquette is regarded as a sin,

What scene shall this drama show?
The eye awaits the lifting of the curtain (*purdah*).

The consequences of the equal status of women with men have been very serious in the West. Woman has come forward as a worker to compete with man in all the spheres of life. She has lost interest in her own duties which nature has imposed upon her, the most important being to produce children and to look after them, which involves a deep interest in domestic affairs. The tendencies of modern woman have been instrumental in the present economic dislocation in Europe. Sometime ago, Hitler made a statement on the duties of woman—"*She must go back to the kitchen!*" *It may* sound as if *Nietzsche was speaking. However, the* soldier's remark has attracted attention.

Iqbal puts forth a very relevant question:

کیا یہی ہے معاشرت کا کمال؟ مرد بیکار و زن تہی آغوش!

Is this the perfection of society?
Man is without work and woman's lap is empty!

Iqbal was not in favour of the type of female education which is popular nowadays:

تہذیب فرنگی ہے اگر مرگ امومت
ہے حضرت انساں کے لئے اس کا ثمر موت

If European cilvisation is a death to motherhood,
Its fruit for man is death!

But Iqbal, unlike Nietzsche, had a great respect for woman and his criticism was only levelled against her modern tendencies:

وجـود زن سے ھے تصویر کائنات میں رنگ
اسی کے ساز سے ھے زندگی کا سوز دروں
شرف میں بڑھ کے ثریا سے مشت خاک اس کی
کہ ھر شرف ھے اسی درج کا در مکنوں!

The colour in the picture of the Universe is due to the existence of woman,
The inner burning of life is from her instrument,
As regards dignity, her handful of dust is superior to the Pleiades,
For every dignity is the secret pearl of this box!

In his *Asrar-i-Khudi*, Iqbal has devoted a considerable space to woman and her importance. As the preservation of the human race depends upon motherhood, according to him, respect for motherhood is real Islam:

پوشش عریانی مردان زن است
حسن دلجو عشق را پیراهن است

Woman is the covering for the nakedness of man,
Her heart-ravishing beauty is the attire for love.

از امومت گرم رفتار حیات   از امومت کشف اسرار حیات

Owing to motherhood, the speed of life is hot,
Motherhood opens the secrets of life.

The poet's respect for motherhood is very great. He admires the ignorant rustic girl—short-statured, fat and ugly:

ان دخ رستاق زادے جاھلے   پست بالائے سطبرے بد گلے

Referring to her passion for motherhood and the blue circular lines around her eyes, the poet says: "If the nation gets one self-respecting and God-fearing Muslim from her lap, our existence is

strengthened through her hardships. Our morning lights up the world through her evening:"

هستی ما محکم از آلام او است   صبح ما عالم فروز از شام اوست

In contrast to a rustic girl, the poet hates the thin, slender and empty-lapped educated girl:

وان تهی آغوش نازک پیکری

——whose thought is bright with Western lustre, but her knowledge could not bear the burden of motherhood and upon her evening did not shine a single star:

این گل از بستان ما نارسته به
داغش از دامان ملت شسته به

If such a flower grows not in our garden, it is better,
And if her stain is washed from the nation's skirt, it is better.

The poet looks upon Fatima (our Lady of Paradise) as a perfect model for the women of Islam, on account of three reasons: She was the beloved daughter of the Holy Prophet, wife of Hazrat Ali and the mother of Hasan and Husain. She has been a source of inspiration for the women of Islam through centuries. She had a noble character as the poet describes her:

آن ادب پروردهٔ صبر و رضا   آسیا گردان و لب قرآن سرا

One, who was brought up to learn patience and resignation,
Grinding a hand-mill and her lips reciting the Koran.

As regards *purdah*, Iqbal often quoted the well-known Koranic verse: "Say (O holy Muhammad!)

to the faithful, that they restrain their eyes and preserve their modesty. And say to the believing women that they restrain their eyes and preserve their modesty, and display not their ornaments, except what appears thereof, and let them throw their kerchiefs over their bosoms." (XXIV: 30-31.) He once explained to a college youth that *purdah* was not the real cause of ill-health of Muslim women. It was rather due to economic reasons. "If the women," said the poet, "could give birth to such great men as Muhammad bin Kasim and Mahmud Ghaznavi inside the *harem*, there is no reason to suppose that *purdah* is the sole cause of our misery." Iqbal had a great sympathy with the enlightenment of women, but he did not approve of the modern system of education.

Thus Iqbal's criticism of the contemporary woman and modernism did not spring from a sense of conservatism. His views were rather determined by the principles of reality that governs the stable character of a society.

XV

IQBAL ON RELIGION AND SOCIETY

THE fact, that life manifests itself in the form of an individual, recognises self-preservation as the first law of nature, but the growth of an individual presupposes a wider circle of activity and suitable environment. This wider circle in the case of man is his society.

The philosophy of Iqbal, apart from its emphasis on the development of the Self, does not ignore the social aspect of human life, which gives birth to and controls the world forces. As Iqbal was an Indian Muslim, the questions pertaining to the destiny of the Indian Muslims naturally occupied his attention and as the conditions prevailing in other Islamic lands were equally grave, the necessity of unity among the Muslim nations was keenly felt by him. To attain this object, he aimed at the awakening of the individual and through him the society. Islam presented to him an ideal society and a religion, based on the ultimate realities of life. His zeal for Islamic revival does not make his humanistic thought any the less valuable. Through the Islamic society, he speaks to the world at large.

Mind and body are the two things that make up the individual. The body being the physical self of man is governed by physical forces and the growth of man is akin to the growth of plants in nature. Mind, which gives consciousness to man, passes through a very intricate process of development, and it is through this process that humanity has been guided through the ages. The influence of heredity and environment has largely been responsible in shaping human thought, but with all its complexity it can be traced back to the absolute Reality and its source of knowledge—intuition.

Individual consciousness and development are the primary stages in the growth of the National Self and the collective life of individuals, as an organised association is the desired end—society, which can only come into existence through a binding force which keeps the individuals together. But, as the behaviour of the individuals in a society must take the form of mass action, the necessity of a code for a society, is altogether undeniable. But then, what should be the code and who should bring forth a code are the questions that take man to the necessity of choosing a leader. Furthermore, what should be the basis of his knowledge? How to test his knowledge?—are the other important questions that man has to answer before he can make society a functioning whole.

According to Iqbal, the character and general

structure of the Universe, its relation to man and the kind of conduct that befits his dignity can best be answered through religion.

"In its attitude towards the ultimate reality it is opposed to the limitations of man; it enlarges his claims and holds out the prospect of nothing less than a direct vision of reality." Thus the poet, like Bergson, believes in knowledge through intuition which is only a higher kind of intellect. As religion has guided man since the dawn of humanity, his religious experience has a reliable value as a natural source of knowledge. Experience in its various stages takes different names. The religious experience of a prophet is the closest approach to truth when he is in touch with reality, hence the peculiar position of a prophet makes him the fittest person to convey his knowledge gained through revelation to humanity for its guidance—"...... A mode of economizing individual thought and choice by providing ready-made judgments, choices, and ways of action." The object of Muhammad's (on whom be peace and blessings of Allah!) prophethood was to lay the foundation of human freedom, equality and brotherhood and it is the duty of every Muslim to support these fundamental principles of Islamic society. The Prophet was a perfect model for the world, and as such the beauty of the inner self of society depends on copying the Prophet's habits and manners.

As a perceptible centre is necessary for the national life, the Kaaba is the centre for the Muslim world; the protection and propagation of Unity is the goal of the Muslim people and they can only attain unity through clinging fast to it. At the same time, the conquest of nature is very essential for the extension of national life.

"In Islam," says Iqbal, "prophecy reaches its perfection in discovering the need of its own abolition. This involves the keen perception that life cannot for ever be kept in leading strings; that in order to achieve full self-consciousness, man must finally be thrown back on his own resources." The philosopher refers to the finality of the prophethood Muhammad whose religious experiance was the closest to reality, described in the Koran as—*Atmamtu 'alaikum ni'mati* and this is final, because any such approach again would bring forth the same result, and the absence of such finality would keep humanity in a constant mood of change and expectation and society would be robbed of its stable character, so indispensible for the process of evolution.

The spirit of Islamic culture is dynamic and it was through ignorance and foreign influence that the Muslim philosophers and the latter-day Sufis developed a static view on life, mystifying the Koranic conception of life. "The ultimate spiritual basis of all life, as conceived by Islam, is eternal and

and reveals itself in variety and change. A society, based on such a conception of Reality must reconcile, in its life, the categories of permanence and change." To keep pace with the changing circumstances, Islam recognises the institution of *Ijtihad*, which in other words is the principle of movement in the structure of Islam. *Ijtihad* is the source of life to society and makes Islam a living intellectual force. After the destruction of Baghdad in the thirteenth century, the *Ulema* tried to preseve the uniformity of social life by adhering to the outward appearance, as they wanted to preserve the social order.

"But they did not see, and our modern *Ulema* do not see, that the ultimate fate of a people does not depend so much on organization as on the worth and power of individual man. In an over-organized society, the individual is altogether crushed out of existence He gains the whole wealth of social thought around him and loses his own soul. Thus, a false reverence for past history and its artificial resurrection constitute no remedy for a people's decay."

The institution of *Ijtihad* has been recognized by all sects of Islam, but it was seldom practised. Ibn-i-Taimiyya rose up in revolt against the finality of the schools and went back to fresh principles in order to make a fresh start. Shah Wali Ullah in the days of the later Moghuls was alive to the necessity of *Ijtihad*. Syed Jamal-ud-Din Afghani

was conscious of the changing times and Prince Said Halim Pasha, the late Grand Vizier of Turkey actually saw the intellectual revolt in Turkey, Iqbal seriously called the attention of the Muslim people to the value of *Ijtihad*. The forces of modernisation have not and could not have left Islam uninfluenced. Turkey, being the nearest Muslim country to Europe, has passed through an historic ordeal and the conflict between modernism and Islam in that land has presented new problems to Islam, and they are being cleverly solved by the Turks. The other countries are also facing similar problems which have given birth to various new movements and the young men are craving for a new life. The instinct is quite natural and Iqbal was not opposed to any liberal movement in modern Islam; "but it must also be admitted that the appearance of liberal ideas in Islam constitutes also the most critical movement in its history. Liberalism has a tendency to act as a force of disintegration."

Iqbal valued the solidarity of Islam above all other things and furiously opposed the forces of disintegration, "masquerading as Reformist movements." He laid great emphasis on the internal cohesion of Islam. He advocated the exclusion from the fold of Islam, of all such persons who were a constant menace to the unity of its people. So in connection with the excommunication of the great philosopher Spinoza, Iqbal writes: "They were

perfectly justified in regarding Spinoza as a distintegrating factor, threatening the dissolution of their community."

Discussing the aspects of the new life in Islam, Iqbal refers to a new set of men, *i.e.*, Zaghlul Pasha, Mustafa Kamal and Riza Shah—"who relying on their healthy instincts, had the courage to rush into sun-lit space and do even by force what the new conditions of life demanded ... In them it is not logic but life that struggles restless to slove its own problems."

Iqbal was a firm believer in religion without which the social system cannot work properly. That is why he focussed his efforts on the revival of Islam and the protection of Islamic society. He believed Islam to be the most valuable contribution to world thought. It was a genuine concern for human destiny that he had given the best part of his life to a careful study of Islam, and a constant endeavour to awaken the Muslims.

Iqbal very much doubted the stability of Western society as it was based on the principle of change and, as such, a constant adaptation to the new problems of change and time, was highly essential, otherwise the system would collapse. On the other hand, Islamic society has a permanent element in its structure of thought, such as the unity of God, the finality of Prophethood and the Shari'at, the Islamic code of Law. In the eyes of Iqbal, Islamic society,

therefore, has only to keep pace with the new discoveries in the domain of knowledge and does not stand in need of a fundamental overhauling as Western society may require. The West is fast losing faith in religion, and a society without a moral sanction is bound to end in chaos. The stable character of a society directly depends upon the essential regard for the ultimate realities that govern life.

During his journey to Madras, the representative of the well-known Madras paper *Swarajya* put a question to Iqbal on the unity of religion and politics. The poet gave an elaborate answer. The following is a summary of it:

I strongly feel the necessity of religious instruction in our educational institutions. The fact is, that I, as an Indian, give precedence to religion over *Swarajya*. Personally, I shall have nothing to do with a *Swarajya* divorced from religion. The purely secular education in Europe has brought forth disastrous results. I would not like my country to have such a bitter experience. It is quite apparent that the Asiatic peoples cannot overlook the material side of European life. We, to-day, face the important issue as to how to bring about a happy blend of the spiritual phases of life.

Turks were the first of the Asiatic nations who had to face the solution of this problem. I believe that the Turks failed to attain the desired combination of spiritualism and materialism. However, I am

not disappointed in the Turks. I think the Tartar race is devoid of the sharp intelligence, perception and depth of conscience, essential to solve the problem. I cannot at present give my views on the problem of the future moves of Arabia, Persia and Afghanistan, which is now occupying the attention of the Asiatic nations.

It is my belief that the people of India shall be able to solve this problem, because their religious traditions, the sharpness of their perception and strength of their sentiments prove their ability to do so. That is why I am always desirous of a Hindu-Muslim understanding, and I hold it of the utmost importance. Only the people of India have a peculiar capacity to build a new world for a 'new' Adam on the ruins of the old world. The present tendency of our young men to, 'consign religion to the shelf' and concentrate all their attention on politics is nothing but the sad result of the slavish imitative attitude towards Europe.

The poet's views on religion and society may be gathered from the following lines:

فرد قائم ربط ملت سے ہے، تنہا کچھ نہیں
موج ہے دریا میں، اور بیرون دریا کچھ نہیں

An indivdal owes his existence to the social cogency and is nothing alone,
The wave exists in the river and is nothing outside.

دامن دیں ہاتھ سے چھوٹا تو جمعیّت کہاں
اور جمعیّت ہوئی رخصت تو ملت بھی گئی

The skirt of religion being lost, where is unity ?
And if unity has left us, the nation is gone.

چیست دیں برخاستن از روئے خاک
تا زخود آگاہ گردد جان پاک !

What is religion ?—To rise from the dust,
So that the soul comes to know itself !

ہوئی ہے زیر فلک امتوں کی رسوائی
خودی سے جب ادب و دیں ہوئے ہیں بیگانہ !

The nations have been disgraced under the sky,
Since literature and religion have become stranger to the Self.

XVI

HIS ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL VIEWS

IQBAL was a poet and a philosopher, but the influential position that he occupied in society as a leader in thought and literature made him a politician. Like Goethe, he preferred a quiet life and had no liking for the noisy life of a politician, but as he played the rôle of a reformer of Muslim society, he could not refrain from taking part in the various movements of the country. In 1926, the poet was elected a member of the Punjab Legislative Council, and this was the beginning of his period of active politics. Although, before this time he had always associated himself with Muslim politics as a guiding force, his advice was even sought by the foremost Congress leaders in the ciritical years after the Great War. In his own words, as a politician, he led no party and followed no leader. It would be difficult to say whether he was a successful politician in the general sense, but his influence on Indian politics was indeed tremendous and it would not be an exaggeration to say that as a political oracle, he was listened to by all and his advice was very much valued in Muslim lands. Lying in his

bed, he scanned the horizon of Indian politics and cast glances over Samarkand, Bukhara, Tehran, Istanbul and Cairo.

As a true son of Islam and its interpreter, the political creed of Iqbal was dictated by the spirit of Islam. He was born at a time when Islam had fallen a victim to the stormy forces of the world. The Muslim political power was declining and the conflict between the Western and Eastern civilisations had created serious problems for the Muslim world. In his youth, Iqbal was inspired by his love for the country and some of his early poems breathe the national spirit. But after his return from Europe, his political vision was that of a pan-Islamist and his views on Indian politics were largely determined by his anxiety to protect Indian Muslims, their religion, culture and civilisation.

Iqbal was not a blind follower of the political thought of the West which was being imported as something sacred in many lands of the East. The territorial basis of nationalism as conceived by European thinkers found no favour with Iqbal who, as an humanist, viewed mankind as a single nation. In his eyes, the dissolution of mankind into so many groups was the greatest danger to the world and as such he never sympathised with national movements. The attitude of Indian Muslims towards nationalism was largely the result of Iqbal's teachings. He laid a great emphasis on

the development of human society as a whole:

تمیز رنگ و بو برما حرام است　　که ما پروردۂ یک نو بہاریم

All men are the sons ot Adam, sprung from the same dust. The earth belongs to God. Man is not confined to any particular piece of land. Territorial, racial and linguistic distinctions are unreal and should in no case be allowed to break up humanity into warring clans, with perpetual disorder on the face of the earth (as the constant political fever in Europe, to-day, proves the ever-existing danger of war). The growing helplessness of European politicians and statesmen lends support to Internationalism as a more stable basis of society.

Human experience in society has given various systems of government to the nations of the world, according to their time and circumstances, and it is not easy to say as to which kind of government is the best of all, as the system of government is the creation of society and largely depends on the development of the social mind. The Greeks are known to have practised democracy as a form of government. The Islamic democracy gave Muslim society an ideal state in the times of Khulafa-i-Rashidin.

Just after the Middle Ages, life in Europe was struggling for a wider circle of action, the new waves of thought which the Renaissance brought in its wake made the European society commotive and turbulent, and in the eighteenth century, all of

a sudden, numerous poets and reformers sprang up in France and their forceful pen paved the way for the French Revolution. The people had grown tired of autocratic rule and believed in the right of self-government, while the King pronounced—"I am the State."

The modern conception of State owes much to the French Revolution, and the democratic spirit which France has given to the world is really appreciable, but unfortunately, with the ownard march of time, democracy has been carried too far. It is to-day in various countries either a section of people governing the State in the autocratic form or a dictator controlling the destinies of a whole nation It is slowly being realised that Democracy to-day is only another form of Despotism. Iqbal like Nietzsche doubted the ability of the masses to run the government system properly, and favoured the fittest man to hold the reins of government:

گریز از طرز جمهوری غلام پخته کارے شو
که از مغز دوصد خر فکر انسانے نمی آید

Run away from the democratic form (of government)
and be a slave to a Perfect Man,
For, the brain of two hundred asses cannot
produce a single man's thought.

The poet was not attracted by the outward democratic form of government in Europe. In his eyes, it was a colossal hoax and it held no prospects of human deliverance:

ھے وھی ساز کھن مغرب کا جمھوری نظام
جس کے پردوں میں نھیں غیر از نوائے قیصری
دیو استبداد جمھوری قبا میں پائے کوب
تو سمجھتا ھے یہ آزادی کی ھے نیلم پری

The Democratic System of the West is the same old instrument,
The chords of which contain no note, other than that of Kaiser.
The Demon of Despotism is dancing in the democratic robe.
Thou thinkest it to be the Nilam Peri of Freedom.

Like Netzsche's Superman, Iqbal had a belief in the Perfect Man (*Insan-i-Kamil*) who with his moral and intellectual force is the most suitable person to guide society, as the possibility of human development in a single individual is far greater than so many taken together, and the collective judgment of a nation has to lower itself before it can appeal to the masses. The Perfect Man would lead society to his own heights, while the decisions of a group of people representing a society, reflect the intellect of an average man.

As a political philosopher, Iqbal was a staunch supporter of Internationalism as conceived by Islam. He was not so optimistic about European Internationalism which appeared after the Great War. During the last few years the authority of the League of Nations has been flouted by the Imperial Powers of the West and the League has been looked upon

only as an institution to feed the vanity of the dominating nations of the world:

من ازیں بیش ندانم که کفن دزدے چند
بهر تقسیم قبور انجمنے ساخته اند

I know nothing besides this, that a few shroud-stealers
Have formed an Association for the distribution of graves (their exploits).

Similarly, the pretentious cry for disarmament, with a view to eliminate the chances of war in Europe, is seldom serious—and the poet says:

بطے می گفت بحر آزاد گردید
چنیں فرماں ز دیوان خضر رفت
نهنگے گفت رو هر جا که خواهی
ولے از ما نباید بے خبر رفت

The duck said, "The sea has become free,
Such a Firman has been issued from the chamber of Khizr."

The crocodile said, " Go wherever thou likest,
But thou should'st not go regardless of us."

Iqbal was inclined towards socialism, as a political conception, in the Islamic sense. The poems of Iqbal abound in verses showing the poet's intense sympathy with the labouring classes and a disgust for the capitalists. The type of socialism that leads to Nihilism had no attraction for Iqbal. Thus in *Piam-i-Mashriq* Lenin says to the Keiser:

غلام گرسنه دیدی که بر درید آخر
قمیص خواجه که رنگیں ز خون ما بود است

Didst thou see the hungry slave who, at last,
Tore off the shirt of his Master, which was coloured with our blood?

And the Kaiser, pointing to the tendency of man to 'carve out new gods as he gets tired of the old', says:

"نماند ناز شیرین بے خریدار اگر خسرو نباشد کوهکن هست"

The elegance of Shirin does not remain without an admirer—
If there is no Khosroe, there is Kohkan (Farhad).

The poet's attitude towards Lenin, later on, was a little changed, as shown by the poem--*Lenin (In the Presence of God)*, but the poet was not forgetful of the dangerous Nihilism which Russian socialism carries. hidden in its sleeves.

As a Muslim, the political poiloshphy of Iqbal was based on the Holy Koran, the divine code which lays down, once for all, the rules and regulations of human society with reference to the nature of God. "And since God is the ultimate spiritual basis of all life, loyalty to God virtually amounts to man's loyalty to his own ideal nature." This gives mankind a permanent element in its structure of thought—social or political. The Koran is the book for mankind and its exposition of the fundamental realities is universal and its application to life automatically makes a Muslim the citizen of the world, who is required to protect the divine code wherever

he may be. It was this sense of all-pervading reality that gave a universal colour to the political views of Iqbal.

As he was keenly alive to the unsatisfactory state of his society, he was always anxious about their political future and a very legitimate desire for self-determination on the part of the Indian Muslims was, to a great extent, created by the poet's teachings, who wanted the Islamic people to understand the significance of the Kaaba, as a unifying force.

The claims of the Indian Congress to stand for the peoples of India as a whole have always been repudiated by Muslims. Some of the Congress leaders of the Left Wing believe " in the total suppression of the cultural entities of the country through the interaction of which India can evolve a rich and enduring culture." Such a creed of the responsible Congress leaders, noted for their Socialistic trend of mind, is a reasonable cause of apprehension for Indian Muslims, and it is not strange that they look for the creation of a Muslim State in the North-West of India. The political atmosphere of India has been tense with suspicion, all these years, and Iqbal was far-sighted enough to look through the political mist. He reminded Muslims in India that the unity of religion and politics was one of the vital dictates of Islam. He did not only desire the revival of Islamic society, but had also in mind the creation of a true Islamic State with

its typical politico-economic system which was the greatest need of the time, as the Islamic States were drifting towards Western political ideology, for the mere lack of economic support. The fulfilment of such a dream primarily depends on the unity of Islamic nations which is of the utmost importance to-day. "It seems to me," says Iqbal, "that God is slowly bringing home to us the truth that Islam is neither Nationalism nor Imperialism but a League of Nations, which recognises artificial boundaries and racial distinction for facility of reference only, and not for restricting the social horizon of its members."

The presidential address which Iqbal read at the Allahabad Session (Dec. 1930) of the All-India Muslim League, discusses the Indian Muslims' political problems and suggests their solution. Some of the poet's statements are historic and the address as a whole is remarkable for its pan-Islamic breath. Iqbal "was not despaired of Islam as a living force for freeing the outlook of man from its geographical limitations. He believed that religion is a power of the utmost importance in the life of individuals as well as States, and was of conviction that Islam is itself Destiny and will not suffer a destiny."

He was opposed to the Western political conception of Nationalism, and regarded it as a menace to Islam which does not recognise territory as the only basis of political solidarity. The separation of

Religion and State in Europe was quite natural, because Christianity there "was understood to be a purely monastic order which gradually developed into a vast church-organisation." Islam recognises this-worldliness and regulates the social activities of man, with due regard to his social impulses.

"In Islam God and the Universe, spirit and matter, church and state are organic to each other. Man is not the citizen of a profane world to be renounced in the interest of a world of spirit situated elsewhere. To Islam, matter is spirit realizing itself in space and time." The modern youth in the Muslim East, as he is looking to the West for political guidance and wholesale importation of Western thought, is bound to create chaos.

"Islam to-day stands in need of renewed power by fresh adjustments." However, it is difficult to predict the fate of the national idea in the Muslim world. To-day, the Muslim outlook is being racialised by the national idea and may, in time, very much retard the humanising work of Islam and the racial consciousness may in time create standards, different from those of Islam. "It is open to a people to modify, reinterpret or reject the foundational principles of their social structure; but it is absolutely necessary for them to see clearly what they are doing before they undertake to try a fresh experiment." Iqbal, the philosopher, did not see eye to eye with the political philosophers of the

West—that religion is a personal affair. The Prophet's religious experience in its individual sense is creative of a social order. "The religious ideal of Islam, therefore, is organically related to the social order which it has created, the rejection of the one will eventually involve the rejection of the other. Therefore the construction of a polity on national lines, if it means a displacement of the Islamic principle of solidarity, is simply unthinkable to a Muslim." The peoples of India are not prepared to pay the heavy price, the suppression of their individual cultures, to create a nation with one mind. "The unity of an Indian nation, therefore," says Iqbal, "must be sought not in the negation, but in the mutual harmony and co-operation of the many." Unfortunately the conditions prevailing in India, to-day, are disheartening and the much desired harmony among the different peoples of India has been made impossible by the lack of sacrifice on the part of the leaders of the various communities.

"Perhaps, in the higher interests of mutual co-operation, we cannot afford to part with the monopolies which circumstances have placed in our hands, and conceal our egoism under the cloak of a nationalism, outwardly simulating a large-hearted patriotism, but inwardly as narrow-minded as a caste or a tribe. Perhaps, we are unwilling to recognize that each group has a right to free development according to its own cultural tradi-

tions." The demand of such a right to free development does not make one communal (a word so much abused nowadays), and does not imply a hostile attitude towards the other groups of people.

In view of the heterogeneous society of India, Iqbal proposed the creation of a State—Muslim India now known as 'Pakistan'. The idea has undergone a little change since then. "The units of Indian society," says Iqbal, "are not territorial as in European countries. India is a continent of human groups belonging to different races, speaking different languages and professing different religions. Their behaviour is not at all determined by a common race-consciousness. Even the Hindus do not form a homogeneous group. The principle of European democracy cannot be applied to India without recognising the fact of communal groups. The Muslim demand for the creation of a Muslim India within India is, therefore, perfectly justified. The resolution of the All-Parties Muslim Conference at Delhi is, to my mind, wholly inspired by this noble ideal of a harmonious whole which, instead of stifling the respective individualities of its component wholes, affords them chances of fully working out the possibilities that may be latent in them. And I have no doubt that this house will emphatically endorse the Muslim demands, embodied in this resolution. Personally I would go further than the demands embodied in it. *I would like*

to see the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single state. Self-Government within the British Empire, or without the British Empire; the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim State appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims at least of North-West India."

Iqbal very well realised the gravity of the present crisis in the history of India, as he says: " The present crisis in the history of India demands complete organisation and unity of will and purpose in the Muslim Community, both in your interest as a community, and in the interest of India as a whole. The political bondage of India has been, and is, a source of infinite misery to the whole of Asia. It has suppressed the spirit of the East, and wholly deprived her of that joy of self-expression which once made her the creator of a great and glorious culture. We have a duty towards India. where we are destined to live and die. We have a duty towards Asia, especially Muslim Asia... .. .An independent line of political action, in such a crisis, is possible only to a determined people, possessing a will focalised by a single purpose. Is it possible for you to achieve the organic wholeness of a unified group? Yes, it is. Rise above sectional interests and private ambitions and learn to determine the value of your individual and collective action, however directed on material ends, in the light of

the ideal which you are supposed to represent."

As an economist, Iqbal was guided by the Holy Koran, and had a great reverence for the economic system of Islam, which, if put into practice, would solve the economic problems of modern society. To-day Socialism is the result of a revolt against the disproportional distribution of money. The Islamic injunction of *Zakat* is a powerful check against the growth of millionaires and decay of the poor in society. Iqbal had a great sympathy for the poor peasants and labourers. Thus some of his poems smack of Socialism, but he had in view only the economic doctrines of Islam.

As a member of the Punjab Legislative Council, Iqbal took a leading part in an historic discussion in connection with the issue, whether land belongs to the Government or to the people. The poet took exception to the Government view that land is the property of the Government, and said that no Government in India had ever put forth such a claim. All land belongs to God. The Governments come and go; the nations go on for ever, even if not their kings. Thus the poet regarded land as national property and believed in its fair distribution.

His sympathy towards the labouring classes was not the result of feelings akin to Marxism, wholly devoid of spiritualism (the Marxian philosophy of bread aims at equality through the stomach).

دین آں پیغمبرِ حق ناشناس
بر مساوات شکم دارد اساس

The religion of that Prophet—ignorant of truth—
Has its basis on the equality of the stomach.

'Interest' in various forms is recognised by the modern economist. Iqbal, as it is forbidden in the Koran, was deadly opposed to it, as he says:

رعنائی تعمیر میں رونق میں صفا میں
گرجوں سے کہیں بڑھ کے ہیں بنکوں کے عمارات
ظاہر میں تجارت ہے حقیقت میں جُوا ہے
سود ایک کا لاکھوں کے لئے مرگ مفاجات!

In the elegance of construction, lustre and cleanliness.
The buildings of Banks are far superior to (those of) Churches,
Ostensibly, it is trade; in reality, it is gambling—
The 'Interest' of one is a sudden death for millions of people!

The following verses throw light on the poet's economic and political views:

جاں نگنجد در جہان اے ہوشمند!
مرد حر بیگانہ از ہر قید و بند

Space cannot accommodate the soul, O wise one!
The Freeman is a stranger to all kinds of restrictions.

جلال پادشاہی ہو کہ جمہوری تماشا ہو
جدا ہو دیں سیاست سے تو رہ جاتی ہے چنگیزی

Be it the grandeur of sovereignty or democratic *Tamasha*,
If politics is separated from religion, it is nothing but Changhizism.

خواجه از خون رگ مزدور سازد لعل ناب
از جفائے ده خدایان کشت دهقانان خراب

The Master makes a pure ruby from the blood of the labourer's vein,
The farms of the peasants are laid waste, on account of the landlords' high-handedness.

The Firman of God (To the Angels):

اٹھو میری دنیا کے غریبوں کو جگا دو
کاخ امرا کے در و دیوار ہلا دو
گرماؤ غلاموں کا لہو سوز یقیں سے
کنجشک فرومایہ کو شاہیں سے لڑا دو
جس کھیت سے دہقاں کو میسر نہیں روزی
اس کھیت کے ہر خوشۂ گندم کو جلا دو

Arise and Awaken the poor people of my world!
Shake the doors and walls of the palaces of the rich!
Warm the blood of the slaves with the fire of confidence—
Set the humble sparrow at the falcon!
(The field) which does not provide the peasant with food,
Burn every ear of corn in such a field!

XVII

IQBAL AMONG OTHER THINKERS

THE Universal aspect of Iqbal's teachings calls for a comparative study of the fundamentals of his philosophy, and a true appreciation of the poet's works is impossible without reference to the great thinkers of the world and their thought.

Unlike the early Muslim philosophers who depended on the works of Plato and Aristotle (particularly), Iqbal, with the advantages of modern study, is a liberal thinker. He condemned Greek philosophy for its inhibitive effect on the growth of Islamic thought. The works of the Greek masters have been held in very high esteem in Muslim countries, and consequently, the teachers in Eastern *Maktabs* never found it advisable to revise or test the value of their thought. Iqbal is perhaps the first Muslim thinker in modern times, who has attempted to readjust Islamic thought in the light of modern inventions and discoveries.

All the nations of the world have their own ways of thinking and are susceptible to foreign influences. The Egyptians, Persians and Indians all have materially contributed to world thought, but if philosophy ever grew on any soil, it was that of Greece,

and from there it was taken to different countries. The Arabs were a Bedouin race and had no natural inclination towards philosophy. Religion had a greater attraction for them, which was only a matter of creed and action, but, as the Muslims conquered foreign countries, new problems of civilisation demanded immediate solution. The people now wanted to understand religion in the light of philosophy. Their interest in Greek philosophy, which had reached the Muslim thinkers through translation, was natural. It had its benefits in so far as it met the mental demand of the age, but it had undesirable effects on religion as the spirit of the Koran was interpreted in the light of Greek thought; in course of time Islam lost much of its original vigour. Persian dualism, the teachings of Plato and Pythagoras, the Jewish and Christian traditions of thought (during the first few centuries) all influenced Muslim writers and thinkers. The teachings of Plato were taken to support Islamic views on the creation of the Universe and the eternity of the soul, but Iqbal warns the Muslim world against Plato's thought for his unbelief in Appearance and a total rejection of this-worldliness. Plato was criticised by Muslim legists in the tenth century, but their criticism unlike Iqbal's, was from a different point of view; they objected to the Platonic view that the Universe is a single soul and the human souls are its limited parts. Iqbal set his face against foreign influ-

ence on Islamic thought. His main object was the exposition of the Koranic spirit and he believed that the meaning of the Koran can be interpreted in the light of contemporary thought in all ages, with an independent critical attitude towards the progress of human thought. Unfortunately Muslim thinkers in the past did not keep in view this healthy principle.

The Greek philosophers attached a great importance to knowledge. Knowledge is really of the highest value to man. They at the same time, believed in the high efficiency and infallibility of reason, and the view fascinated the Muslim thinkers. Socrates is said to have been put to death by the Athenians for his Rationalism. "Know thyself," is the famous saying ascribed to Socrates, which has found a place in Muslim thought in various forms, and the distance from Iqbal's doctrine of the Self, through the works of the mystic saints to the Greek master's saying is not very great.

In contradistinction to the Greek thinkers, and some of the early Muslim thinkers, Iqbal did not believe in the infallibility of reason. He believed in the two important sources of knowledge—Revelation and intuition Like Gazali, Iqbal attached a great value to the inner experience, and according to him it has a scientific value.

Kindi, Farabi, Ibn-i-Miskwaih and even Ibni-i-Sina were all influenced by Greek thinkers. Ghazali

was perhaps the first Muslim thinker who doubted the efficacy of Reason. He, on the other hand, found another source of knowledge—intuition, through which alone religion can be understood, and it is fundamentally wrong to ascribe to reason the capacity to grasp Reality. Iqbal takes his cue from Ghazali, and finds ample support for his intuitive philosophy in Bergson, among modern thinkers.

Through the works of Aristotle, logic became popular with the Muslim thinkers to the extent that even the commentaries of the Holy Koran were written with strict regard to logical conventionalism. The early writers failed to see that religion is based on a particular source of knowledge. Although philosophy has a right to go into the secrets of religious knowledge, it does really fall short of its total comprehension. Iqbal does not see eye to eye with the prominent Muslim thinkers like Farabi and Razi. To Iqbal, the complete and true vision of reality depends on religious experience, and the scholastic thought leads one to dogmatic insistence, which is as dangerous as religious fanaticism.

The Mu'tazilites emphasised the use of reason as a religious duty. In the times of Al-Mamun and Mutawakkil, their rationalistic creed was thrust upon the people, and they went so far as to employ the sword to enforce the acceptance of their doc-

trine, Iqbal, on the contrary, might draw the sword for the defence of his intuitional creed. Iqbal realised the importance of the intricate problems that arose in the Mediæval Ages in connection with 'Time' and the 'Eternity of the Word of God' and came to certain conclusions in the light of modern thought, but it was only to meet the demand of reason on behalf of the younger generation.

With the decline of Rationalism in the Muslim world, Mysticism came into prominence and exercised a complete control over poetry. The deterioration of poetry was the natural consequence of a cynical disregard for reason. Iqbal protested against this aspect of Persian as well as Indian thought so far as it affects Islamic culture and civilisation, and his works reveal a clear divergence from the old school which, at the outset, did not believe in the reality of the Universe and later denied any meaning to the soul.

The adverse forces of modern times and Western materialism might give birth to the Ikhwan-us-Safa of the twentieth century. The appearance of Iqbal in Muslim Society seems to have encouraged social cogency, otherwise the disruptive tendency among the various sections in Islam is still perceptible, and only a scientific study of the social affairs and the behaviour of the Muslim mind to-day can save the nation from a crisis Iqbal was keenly alive to the growing problems, and his services to

the cause of Islam were as unselfish as they were beneficial. The question is still relevant: Where are we, and whither are we going?

Iqbal was a man who passed his days in this world with an eye on its problems, but he was not forgetful of the other world. Unlike Kindi who believed that the human soul did not find peace in this world as it was full of sorrow and pain, Iqbal was a great lover of life, who firmly believed that this world had a direct relation with the other. According to Farabi, the mind has a close likeness to the body, but the perfection of the mind depends upon Reason. Obviously Iqbal does not attach so much importance to Reason, and he believes that development and growth of the soul do not wholly depend on it. Iqbal and Farabi were both seekers after the eternal reality.

Ibn-i-Miskwaih was a great believer in the social life of man, as the individual life does not provide ample opportunities for the proper growth of the human race and the highest conception of good cannot go beyond human love. Besides, he thought that *Shari'at* had a close relation with human ethics. Similar is the view of Iqbal who laid stress on the unity of individuals in the form of a society (*The Secrets of Selflessness*). *Shari'at*, according to Iqbal, is a code of ready-made judgments in the hands of the Muslim people, under the authority of the Prophet. Just as Farabi was concerned with

wisdom, Ibn-i-Sina looked upon the mind as the more important thing. The inclination of the latter led him to a peculiar kind of mysticism. He believed that just as physical defects precede physical ailments, in the same way, spiritual health is conducive to heavenly pleasure. According to Iqbal, the Self requires a suitable atmosphere for its development and is susceptible to pain and pleasure. Thus the view of Iqbal is akin to that of Ibn-i-Sina.

The growing inclination of Muslim thinkers towards philosophy received a severe setback on the hands of Ghazali who wrote his famous work, *Tahafut-ul-Falasifa*, to contradict the teachings of philosophy. He was after his peace of mind and the knowledge of God, and to this end, he discovered the value of Intuition, and henceforth chalked out a new line of thought. There is no doubt that his new light made the comprehension of a large number of problems easy. Iqbal duly recognised the value of Ghazali's thought which has been widely accepted to this day.

Ibn-i-Baja was a follower of Farabi who loved peace and solitude. He entered the dark Sahara of philosophy and in his confusion discovered the unity of life and the secret of its pleasure. He was a rationalist and differed from Ghazali's view that man attains salvation only through the knowledge of Reality, gained through the light of God. According to him, the religious and mystic experiences,

instead of clearing the conception of reality blur it. In order to have a perfect vision of reality, a philosopher should forego the pleasures of inner experience. The knowledge of God cannot be acquired except through pure reason, devoid of all sensuous pleasure. In this respect, it would be clear that Iqbal strongly opposes Ibn-i-Baja's views, and the two stand poles apart. Iqbal might have a conception of the society of the select, while Ibn-i-Baja emphasised individual development and at the same time advocated the formation of societies of free thinkers. They should live a natural life as a model for the common people; in that case there would be no need of a physician or a judge. Love would be the governing force of life. Iqbal is more concerned with the individual and believes in a personality, who guides the people as a directing force and keeps them bound together.

Ibn-i-Rushd was a follower of Artistotle and held the latter's logic in great esteem as it clears the way to reality. According to his belief, knowledge through reason passes the bounds of perception and enters the domain of rational vision. The common people pass their life in the realm of perception and are liable to err. Ibn-i-Rushd's view does not find favour with Iqbal who had a great faith in the inner experience of man; to him the only way to acquire a perfect vision of Reality was through intuition, but Iqbal agrees with Ibn-i-Rushd—that the difference

between the fundamental aims of religion and philosophy is the basis of their harmony. Ibn-i-Khaldun took exception to the view that reality can be perceived only through logical principles. Beyond the individual domain, he attached greater importance to the universal experience of mankind. He discovered the principles of evolution in the realms of history and civilisation. His works have, for a long time, influenced practical politics in the East and his scientific discussions were often referred to by Iqbal.

Among the European thinkers, Kant occupies an important position in so far as he proved, from the point of view of philosophy, the necessity of Faith, because man cannot perceive Reality through pure reason. He looked upon man as a free agent, otherwise he would not be responsible for his actions. Iqbal's conception of the freedom of the Ego and his immortality finds a place in the philosophy of Kant as well. The main difference between the two thinkers is that Iqbal did not feel the necessity of proving the essential element of Faith. According to him, the freedom of the Ego as well as his immortality is the result of a constant struggle. The views of Kant are based on his belief in the principles of justice (order) in the Universe and that the actions and their results closely correspond to one another. Like Descartes', the philosophy of Iqbal "begins with the Self and travels outward."

Kant was more of a metaphysician; his inferences in regard to the Self were the outcome of external command. Iqbal believed in religion. The ethical law of Iqbal finds its sanction in the inner necessity of the life of the Ego. He was a great lover of life and was always prepared to face all kinds of difficulties. Desire, he says, is the source of life.

With a peculiar difference, Schopenhauer was a pessimist and regarded desire as the source of all sorrow. He seems to have been adversely affected by the ostensibly disagreeable vastness of the Universe and failed to see the inner activity of life. As he had a very unpleasant experience of life, to him adversity and grief were fatal. On the other hand, Iqbal, like Goethe, of whose personality and teachings he was a fervent admirer, believed that immortality of the Ego depends on personal effort. Instead of avoiding adversity, man must face it.

Among the Western thinkers, the philosophy of Nietzsche, who died in 1900, seems to have influenced the modern mind greatly. After Goethe, he gave Germany a new life. His name has been inseparably linked with Iqbal's whose works bear a Nietzschean tinge, but, it must be said that except a few points of resemblance, the two thinkers fundamentally differ from each other. A study of Nietzsche's psychology reveals the true significance of his philosophy. He was a weak man and his maxim in life was—'Be hard!' He believed in

'Will to Power', as a universal phenomenon. Iqbal's belief in the constant effort of the Ego is not very far from that of Nietzsche. Both of them believed in Personality. Nietzsche's Ubermensch (Superman) is Iqbal's Perfect Man, but the Superman of the former is the symbol of power, while the Perfect Man of the latter possesses a character based on justice. He uses power to enforce justice in the Universal system and as such destroys the tyrant and protects the weak. Nietzsche over-estimated the virtues of the aristocracy and there was no place in his society for the weak. The Superman would be mainly confined to his self, while the Perfect Man, having a belief in God, would have unlimited possibilities of self-expression and would endeavour to give to the world a practical system based on justice. As he does not distinguish between the high and low, he would establish an ideal Democratic State.

For his 'wild' philosophy, Nietzsche is accused of having motivated the War, but there are still many all over the world who follow him. The power politics so much in vogue nowadays in Europe can be traced back to Nietzsche. The philosophy of Iqbal is calculated to restore order to human society, but as he belonged to a fallen race, it may take some time for him to affect the international currents of thought.

A certain amount of mystic element characterises the works of both Nietzsche and Iqbal

Nietzsche was himself a bird soaring high in the heavens to have a closer vision of reality (through faith). He even said: "Other birds might fly farther." Did Iqbal not fly farther? Both thinkers had a peculiar historical sense. They upheld the traditions of greatness. While one was influenced by Greek literature and thought, the other was inspired by Islam.

Among the thinkers of the twentieth century, the philosophy of Iqbal has much in common with Henri Bergson's views, to whom constant change is the basic principle of the Universe. The apparent disorder in the Universe is due to our senses which do not provide us with real knowledge; they only guide us in our daily life. Reality must be traced to the ultimate conception of Time and Space which can only be had through intuition. Bergson's views on Change, Creative Evolution and Time find favour with Iqbal, but he differs from the former inasmuch as he believes in a kind of dualism in the Universe on the basis of a clash between soul and matter. This dualism in the philosophy of Iqbal is absorbed into the unity of God who is an all-embracing personality. Reason and perception, according to Bergson, are too weak to comprehend Reality. Iqbal does not look upon reason as something wholly useless. He believes in the respective values of perception, intuition and love. The last, he thinks, is a force conducive to unity. Love is a surer guide,

and reason should be subservient to it.

Bergson does not conceive an object in both the individual and social circles of life. To him, life has no object. His principle of Creative Evolution presents a vision of the Universe, driven by a blind creative impulse, where man is not a free agent. His Creative Evolution is Iqbal's God (the Universal Ego), who is the conscious ultimate cause and who differentiates between man and animal. The view of Iqbal imparts more meaning to human life than that of the French philosopher.

McTaggart, the well-known British philosopher, was a teacher and personal friend of Iqbal. His views on the conception of the Self seem to have influenced him. In a letter to Iqbal, he wrote in 1920: "I am writing to tell you with how much pleasure I have been reading your poems (*Secrets of the Self*). Have you not changed your position very much? Surely in the days when we used to talk philosophy together, you were much more of a pantheist and msytic. For my own part, I adhere to my own belief that selves are the ultimate reality, but as to their true content and their true good, my position is as it was, that that is to be found in eternity and not in time, and in love rather than in action. Perhaps, however, the difference is largely a question of emphasis—we each lay most weight on what our own country needs. I dare say you are right when you say that India is

too contemplative. But I am sure that England—and all Europe—is not contemplative enough. That is a lesson that we ought to learn from you--and no doubt we have something to teach in return."

Mystical intuition found a place in McTaggart's system of philosophy as a source of knowledge, and this, according to Iqbal, must have been due to the need of a direct contact with the ultimate Reality. Such a knowledge only confirmed what he had apprehended through pure reason.

It would be remembered that Iqbal had a great faith in direct revelation. While taking exception to the British philosopher's views, Iqbal writes: "I cannot agree with McTaggart in the view that the Self is elementally immortal. From the mere fact that the individual ego is a differentiation of the eternal Absolute, it by no means follows that, even in its finitude, the human Self retains the character which belongs to its source alone. To my mind, such a differentiation should give it only a capacity for immortality and not immortality itself. Personally I regard immortality as an inspiration and not something eternally achieved. Man is a candidate for immortal life, which involves a ceaseless struggle in maintaining the tension of the ego.. .... But while I disagree with McTaggart in his view of immortality, I regard this part of his work as almost apostolic. He emphasised personal immortality even at the expense of the transcendent God of Christian

theology at a time when this important belief was decaying in Europe and when the European man was about to face death on an enormous scale."

Like Iqbal, the British philosopher attached a great value to Love, and he was of opinion that the solution of all problems was only found in Love, and he described it as the essence of Reality. "He seems to oppose love to action." The opposition is unintelligible to Iqbal, to whom love is not something passive—"It is active and creative. Indeed on the material plane, it is the only force which circumvents death, for when death takes away one generation, love creates another."

McTaggart does not seem to comprehend the "central unity as an all-inclusive Self"—probably due to his Hegelian inspiration. Nietzsche suffered from similar handicaps as his "peculiar intellectual environment led him to think that his vision of the ultimate ego could be realised in a world of space and time." With the obvious benefits of Islamic tradition, Iqbal had no such confines. Through Faith and Intuition, his flights in the sphere of knowledge were unlimited.

عمرها درکعبه و بت خانه می نالد حیات

تا ز بزم عشق یك دانائے راز آید برون



ABDULLA ANWAR BEG

M A M O L, LL B

Author of "Since Our Fall", "Tamir-i-Nau" etc

تعمیر نو

" تعمیرنو" اپنے افادی اعتبار سے ایسی تصنیف ہے جو مصنف کےلئے جائز فخر و ناز کا ذریعہ ہو سکتی ہے۔ یہ کتاب اگرچہ قومی و سیاسی فلسفوں کی آئینہ داری کرتی ہے۔ لیکن طرز نگارش کی جامعیت نے فلسفہ و حکمت کو عمل و حقیقت کا مقلد بنا دیا ہے۔ "تعمیرنو" کے مطالعہ سے یہ امر تشریح و تصریح کی روشنی میں آ جاتا ہے۔ کہ زندہ قوموں کے ذی روح فلسفوں، قابل احترام تہذیبوں، درخشاں تمدنوں اور جلیل القدر سیاستوں کا حقیقی سرچشمہ وہ جوش عمل ہے جو ملت کی اجتماعی سعی و جہد اور تکمیل تنظیم کے بعد پیدا ہوتا ہے *

" تعمیرنو" میں تعمیر ملت کے اسباب پر مختلف ماحولوں کی روشنی میں بحث کی گئی ہے اور تجربات و حقائق کے اظہار سے ان خطرات کی نقاب کشائی کی گئی ہے جو شوق تعمیر کو نامعلوم طور پر جوش تخریب بنا دیتے ہیں *

موجودہ زمانہ میں اسلامی ہند ایک انقلاب انگیز راہ سے گزر رہا ہے۔ جس کے قدم قدم پر حوادث و مصائب کی بلائیں کھڑی ہیں اور ہر مرحلہ ایسے ماحول میں واقع ہے جہاں تکمیل قومیت اور تعمیر ملت کا تخیل مکدر ہو کر رہ جاتا ہے۔ اس لئے مسلمانوں کو ایسی مشعل بصیرت کی ضرورت ہے جس کی روشنی میں صحیح و صالح نصب العین نظر آسکے۔ یہ مقصد "تعمیرنو" سے پورا ہو رہا ہے۔ ہم امید کرتے ہیں کہ فکر و نظر اور بحث و اجتہاد کے ہر حلقہ میں "تعمیرنو" کا خیرمقدم نعرہ ہائے تحسین کے ساتھ کیا جائےگا۔ کیونکہ یہ ان معدود تصنیفات میں سے ایک ہے جو فلسفہ اجتماعیت کے پیچیدہ ترین مسائل پر بھی سادگی کی شعاعیں ڈال رہی ہیں۔ ہم اس کارنامہ پر مسٹر عبداللہ انور بیگ' ایم۔اے' ایل ایل۔بی کو قابل مبارکباد سمجھتے ہیں جنکی فکر و نظر کے ارتقائی مناظر "تعمیرنو" میں جلوہ گر ہیں" * قیمت ایک روپیہ چار آنے

"زمیندار" ۱۱ ستمبر ۱۹۳۸ء